

The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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for Teachers and Students of History

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No. 4

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Japan Looks Back

Gustav Voss, S. J.

DURING the past seventy years Japan has frequently been in the news of the day. From a group of small, unimportant and almost unknown islands at the time of the American Civil War, Japan has rolled into the twentieth century fully developed — a highly civilized country, a rising trade rival, a strong military opponent, one of the great powers of the world! Springing from medieval feudalism to the status of a compact unified empire, Japan has hurdled a span of several centuries within the lifetime of a single man.

Together with this tremendous political, social and economic development there went hand in hand what might be called a reorganization and new orientation of Japan's old heritage of culture and science. For Japan soon realized that this rapid ascent of the nation would involve great dangers for the future, unless the rich and variegated treasures of a sacred tradition were fitted harmoniously into the new picture of nationalistic Japan. She set out conscientiously to adjust herself and to save what was considered of vital necessity for real progress. Indeed, there was a time when the quick and widespread influence of western civilization throughout every sphere of public life was thought to be the ruin of old Japan. There were many who possessed no deep understanding of the cultural background and the spiritual tendencies of the country, and when they observed the swift changes in the nation, they were often inclined to think that all the rich indigenous inheritance of the past would be obliterated at a stroke. That was an error.

This spiritual mobilization gave an impulse especially to the study of history, and, as a matter of fact, the science of history has shown remarkable development

since the Meiji Restoration in 1867. It is only natural for a nation, flooded by countless foreign innovations, inventions, and ideas, to turn at length to its own history and ferret out the treasures of the past, stressing their attractiveness and national significance and, let us say, superiority. History, therefore, was expected both to safeguard past tradition and to link it up with the present, and one may say that in this task it bids fair to succeed.

Here it is beyond our scope to give a detailed account of the development of studies in Japanese history, however interesting that topic may be. Only one section of this vast field will be chosen, the history of the "Christian century" in Japan (1550-1650), and that only in so far as the reasons that lead up to this growing interest are in accord with those given above. The same reaction, as has been indicated, was responsible for the advancement of Japanese profane history.

It has been only during the last thirty years that this field has received particular attention, although there was made, as early as 1878, by order of the Japanese government, a Japanese translation of J. Crasset's "*Histoire de l'Eglise du Japon*." But this work did in no wise satisfy the requirements which are properly demanded from historical sources, and moreover the Japanese translation was a very poor one. Furthermore, Crasset's book was written for European readers, and an incidental purpose of the author, besides writing history, was pious edification. It is needless to state that a non-Christian Japanese could hardly be expected to give a warm reception to this work, the more so, as he probably considered the Christian phase of Japanese history more under a political aspect, and the faithfulness and constancy of his Chris-

tian fellow-Japanese of that time only as obstinacy and rebellion, or at least as an apostasy from the way of his gods and ancestors.

This opinion seemed quite confirmed and encouraged by rather numerous Japanese writings which dealt with the *Kirishitans*,¹ and were widely spread over the country. Professor Masaharu Anesaki, today perhaps the most active Japanese historian of the Christian century,² characterizes the situation as follows: "In the age of national seclusion consequent upon the subjugation of the Shimabara insurrection [1637-38] it became a dogmatized impression or sentiment, both in the official circles and among the people, that the Kirishitan religion was an evil doctrine and its propaganda nothing but a means of conquest. Any criticism of this public sentiment would have been regarded almost as an act of treason and the dogma was more and more indurated during the subsequent two centuries. Quite naturally the writings which could enjoy any publicity were those intended to support and to impress more deeply this assumed sentiment or opinion."³

It is not easy to disengage oneself from such a general sentiment when it prevails among a whole people and to prescind from the prejudices which were fanatically fostered during two long centuries. After a time, other Japanese chronicles and documents were published which, although far from doing justice to the Christian era, were more critical and consequently of more historical value. These later works definitely proved the earlier writings to have been willful distortions and pure fiction. The study of this more objective material cleared the way, and gradually the broadmindedness, so characteristic of the Japanese, helped smooth down ruffled feelings against the foreign religion which in modern times had slowly regained a strong foothold in Japan. The many historical works and special studies in European languages dealing with the Japanese mission, the number of which was rapidly increasing about the beginning of the twentieth century, helped greatly towards a better understanding.

Gradually the conviction took root that the Christian mission could no longer be considered as a mere "religious event," since it had influenced the nation in almost every sphere of its activity. The history of the Catholic mission, it was realized, had rendered a remarkable contribution to Japanese profane history, a knowledge of it was necessary for a just judgment of the purely historical facts of the Christian century; for the unifying of the whole nation; for the installment of the central power; for the invasion into Korea, since the temporary subjugation of the country was especially due to the distinguished services of some of the Christian generals of the Japanese army; and for the internal political-economic situation of Japan which finally resulted in the seclusion of the country from outside influences. These and many other historical events were intimately connected with the history of Christianity. Dr. Anesaki, in the introduction

of one of his five large volumes on the mission history, summarizes briefly what is today the common view among Japanese scholars: "Those hundred years which saw the introduction, wide propagation and final destruction of the Catholic faith, form an epoch which is of universal interest and great importance for the whole Japanese history. This must be stated as far as the political events are concerned, and still more in regard to the entire framework of culture, science and religion."⁴

This new aspect of the problem called for a more scholarly treatment of the period in question by Japanese historians, and when last year the Jesuit University of Tōkyō issued an invitation for the foundation of a new "Institute for Research into the Kirishitan History of Japan," over twenty scholars, nearly all non-Christian, united their efforts to work for a better understanding of the glorious history of Japan's martyr Church.

This gradual reversal of judgment anent Catholic missionary activity demands a brief review of the factors which might be considered as primarily contributing to this result. The main reason, as already indicated, is the enrichment which Japanese profane history has derived from the mission history, and which is due especially to the many contemporary reports, letters, and other writings of the missionaries. Many of these have been published during the past two centuries, and to them we owe most of what we know about the mission. But the greater part of this material is still preserved in the archives of the various missionary orders of those early days and can be made accessible to scholars only very slowly.

The most valuable of these sources are the annual letters of the early Jesuit missionaries. They were written by the superior of the mission or by other members of the mission staff. Generally the individual journals sent by the different mission stations from all over the country are summarized in a general account, but frequently enough the exact wording of the missionaries' reports are given. Here we find many facts, descriptions, names, and dates which are nowhere mentioned in Japanese records. Even the reports which give well known current events are of great value, since they are written, for the most part, by men thoroughly trained in letters and practised in the art of keeping records. These authors realize that they are the first to write about Japan which was so far away and so interesting to European readers. Besides accurate descriptions of various mission events, we find inserted numerous incidents of profane history, past and present, sketches of pagan religious practices and superstition, details about the form of government, about laws and social institutions, many a humorous glimpse of daily life, of customs and habits, buildings, ships, weapons and the like.

Besides these regular annual reports, voluminous and comprehensive historical works on Japan and the missions have come down to us, composed by highly qualified

¹ Derived from the Portuguese word *Christão*, the Japanese *Kirishitan* was used to designate both the Catholic religion and its followers. Later, during the persecution, the word was used to convey all abhorrent associations. Today it is the usual expression, also in non-Japanese writings, to cover Catholic missions, converts, religion, and everything that pertains to them. Cfr. M. Anesaki, *A Concordance to the History of the Kirishitan Missions* (Tōkyō 1930), 1.

² See a short study on Anesaki's activity as an historian of the Christian century by the present writer in *Monumenta Nipponica*, I (1938), 568-575.

³ "Exaggerations in the Japanese Accounts of the Kirishitan Propaganda," in *Proceedings of the Imperial Academy*, IV (Tōkyō 1928), 85.

⁴ M. Anesaki, *Kirishitan Shumon no Hakugai to Senpuku* (The Persecution of the Kirishitans and Their Survival), Tōkyō 1925. (Please turn to page 86)

A Twelfth Century Greek Monastery for Women

Sister Agnes Clair, C. D. P., Ph. D.

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THE Monastery of Our Lady full of Grace and the Holy Mother of God was founded by the Empress Irene, the wife of Alexius Comnenus who was Emperor of the Eastern Empire from 1081 until 1118, and the Rule for the Monastery was drawn up by Irene herself.¹ Although it may seem strange that an Empress should found a monastery, should draw up the rules to be observed in it, and should later enter it herself, yet it is not surprising if the character of the people and the customs of the period are taken into consideration.

The Byzantines were a mixed race of Oriental and Greek blood, who gave evidence of the superior intellectual ability of the Greek as well as of the passionate nature of the Oriental, and whose character was innately religious. It was this inborn, religious character which early gave rise to the practice, prevalent among the royal and noble families, of founding and endowing monasteries, which many of them afterwards entered.² Moreover, theological discussions were the constant delight of these people, whether they belonged to the court or were keepers of shops on the street.³ Hence, it is not strange that the Empress was well versed in religion and religious practices.

The Empress founded this monastery, as she tells us in the rule, in order to show her love for God and to thank Him for the great blessings He had bestowed upon her, and she placed in it virgins who should praise God day and night and so secure peace and protection for the Empire, as well as success and a long life for the Emperor.

The Monastery of Our Lady full of Grace, according to the Rule, was αὐτοδέσποτον, that is, self-governing and subject to no royal, ecclesiastical, or personal laws, but to its abbess alone, a special privilege granted only to royal monasteries;⁴ and the anathema of the 318 Holy Fathers was invoked on anyone who should dare to attempt to put it under the control of any other than the abbess.⁵ The cenobitic method of life, a life in common and in which all are subject to one abbess, was strictly prescribed. Likewise a patroness was appointed for the monastery who should watch over it and its possessions, but should not in any way exercise authority over it or the nuns, nor change any part whatsoever of the Rules. This patroness was always to be one of the royal princesses.

The Rule permitted the nuns to have six or seven serving women, and in case a princess of the royal family became a religious in this monastery, she was allowed two serving women who were to live apart from the other servants of the monastery. Moreover, a royal princess

or a lady of noble birth had special quarters to live in and enjoyed a less strict diet than the others if she so wished.

Applicants were received without a dowry, but if they desired to present money or possessions to the monastery, they were allowed to do so. However, no gift made to the monastery entitled the donor to any privileges or exemptions whatsoever, and unless this was clearly understood by the donor the gift was not acceptable. The Rule limited the number of nuns to be received into the monastery to twenty-four, but permitted an increase to forty provided the income was sufficient for that number. All of these were to use one dwelling place and sleep in one common dormitory in order that the lazier ones might be spurred on to greater fervor by the example of the more industrious.

The Rule describes in detail the manner in which the nuns were to elect an abbess who in turn appointed an *econome*, usually a priest, to manage according to her will the business of the monastery and of all its possessions; two sacristans, one for the church and one for the care of the sacred vessels; two treasurers, one to have charge and keep an account of the money received and spent and one to have charge of the wardrobe of the nuns; one custodian of the wine, one keeper of the provisions, a refectorian, a disciplinarian, a portress and two superintendents of the handiwork. These latter secured and gave out the material for the handiwork of the nuns and afterwards received and stored away the finished garments.

As regards duties, the principal one was prayer, and the Rule did not prescribe any of the works of present day active orders of religious, such as teaching, or caring for the sick, orphans, or old people. During the periods assigned to handiwork one sister, appointed by the superior, read aloud from the Holy Scriptures, and the other sisters were warned not to sit together and whisper but to reap profit for their souls from the reading. There is no rule which prescribes a period of recreation. However, a nun was permitted once or twice a year, to see her mother or sister if they came to the convent, and even to receive them inside and permit them to stay the whole day. If a father or a brother found it necessary to speak to one of the nuns she went, accompanied by an older religious, to the gate where the conversation was held; for the monastery was absolutely closed to men. In case the nun asked for was ill, she was carried on her cot to the gate and after her conversation was finished was carried back.

Each day the nuns were to recite the Divine Office of the Church, a duty which required about eight hours.⁶ Most specific directions were given in the Rule as regards

¹ According to Montfauconius in the Migne *Patrologiae Graecae*, 127:1107, the *Codex Regius* is the original codex drawn up and signed by Irene since it is signed at the end of chapter 78 in red with the signature of the Empress and since it was permitted only for the Emperors and their wives to sign their names in red.

² Cf. Charles Diehl, "Byzantine Civilization," *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 751f.

³ Cf. Adrian Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*. London, 1929. p. 110.

⁴ L'Abbe Marin, *Les Moines de Constantinople*. Paris, 1897. p. 44.

⁵ This anathema of the 318 Holy Fathers who composed the Council of Nicea was frequently attached to documents by the Greeks. Cf. L. Petit, "Le Monastère de Notre Dame de Pitié," *Constantinople Ruskii Arkheologicheskii Institut*. Sofia, 1900. p. 112.

⁶ Cf. Adrian Fortescue, *op. cit.*, 418.

the various prayers and the order of procedure. Referring to the Divine Office the Rule prescribes

Since up to this point we have discussed other matters we shall now speak of the Divine Office of the Church. And in order that we may begin with the light, let us start with the first hour of the day, in this imitating God Who began the formation of the world by the creation of light. After having finished Lauds we must add the first Hour according to custom, and at the end of it say this prayer, "Who in all time and at every hour."⁷ After the prayer there should be the customary genuflections, made down to the ground without the aid of the faldstool⁸ by the stronger Sisters; but by the weaker with the assistance of some low support. The genuflection is fifteen reverences, of which the first three ought to be rather slow and, as it were, require more time in rising and in bending the knee; so that each of you is able, each time, when you stand to hold your hands extended and to say three times the words, "O God, be merciful to me a sinner"; then when you have bent your knee and head to the ground, say likewise three separate times, "I have sinned against You, O Lord, pardon me." Thus, then you must make the three genuflections; but the remaining twelve more quickly, so that each one says once in bending the knee and once in standing up the aforementioned words of supplication. You shall bend your knees and rise upright again, not when it may seem best to each one, without order and at random, but as one body, bending together and rising together, using as a leader for both the sacristan of the church who stands before the holy sanctuary and gives the signal for bending the knee by bending hers, and for rising by rising. And this is the office of the day in which, instead of "Lord God," "Alleluiah" is chanted.

The Rule continues by saying that in case the day has a sequence and a proper the "Lord God" also is to be chanted, but the last twelve genuflections are to be postponed and made in the dormitory. In their place another prayer is to be recited, followed by a spiritual reading and the recitation of the *Trisagion*.⁹ After enumerating other prayers to be said this chapter ends thus:

Moreover you will say all the prayers with your hands extended. After the prayer indicated has been finished and the priest has said the accustomed prayer, you will all prostrate yourselves on the ground on your faces, and the abbess, since she is the leader of all good for you, will say thus, "Pray for me, Sisters, to the Lord, that I may be freed from all passions, and from the snares of the Evil One." And you will answer, "May God keep you safe, honored Mother; pray also for us, holy Mother, that we may be freed from our passions and from the snares of the Evil One." Then she again praying will say, "O God, through the prayers of our Fathers keep us all safe." After this you shall rise and proceed to the common dwelling place of your community life, and when you are there you will refrain from all vain business and will all devote yourselves to handiwork. One, whoever may be appointed by the abbess, will sit in the midst of you and read whatever may be prescribed. For the reading will hinder all vain and useless, or even harmful conversation, and it will give great assistance to those who wish to pay attention to it.

Irene does not tell us the exact hours at which Terce and Sext were recited, after which Mass, or as the Greeks call it, the Liturgy, was celebrated; but it was customary in the monasteries for the Liturgy to end at about mid-day and for the first meal of the day to be

⁷ According to Montfauconius, *op. cit.*, 1049, the prayer, *ὁ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, καὶ πάσῃ ὥρᾳ, ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, προσκυνοῦμενος Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μακρόθυμος*, etc., in the *Horologium Græcum Venetiis editum* will be found very similar to this.

⁸ *προσευχάδιον*—This was a kind of step on which those genuflecting leaned. Cf. Montfauconius, *op. cit.*, 1049.

⁹ The *Trisagion* or thrice holy is the short hymn, "Holy God, holy strong One, holy immortal One, have mercy on us," three times, followed by the *Gloria Patri*, *Sicut erat*, and then again "Holy immortal One, have mercy on us," and lastly, the whole first verse: "Holy God," etc. Cf. Adrian Fortescue, *op. cit.*, 414.

¹⁰ Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres religieux, monastiques et militaires*. (Paris, 1714) I, 184.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 183.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 183.

served after that.¹⁰ Vespers ordinarily began at about four o'clock,¹¹ then, after a short exercise, a second meal was provided for the nuns, except in Lent, when only one meal a day was served, although the remains of the dinner were put out for the younger nuns or those who might feel that they needed more. After supper Compline was recited, followed by the Night Office which was chanted before retiring either in the dormitory or outside of it as the superior might wish. Again during the night the nuns were roused to go to the church for Matins. This Office lasted about two hours¹² and the Rule ordered that when Matins was finished the large sounding board and the bronze should be struck and the Office of Lauds should begin. From this it seems that Matins was prolonged until sunrise in this monastery, a custom observed in some monasteries of the earlier ages.¹³ The Office of Lauds was immediately followed by the Office of Prime. In connection with the Divine Office the Rule directed that the *μεσώρια*¹⁴ or mid-hour services of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None should be recited at their proper times.

In addition to the Divine Office and the other prayers prescribed during the day, there were frequent Vigils, many of them all-night Vigils. The Rule was very definite with regard to the Vigils. It ordered that a *παννυχίς* or an all-night Vigil should begin immediately after Vespers; that the Vigil of Sunday should begin at the third hour, that is about nine o'clock, during the summer, but at the fourth hour during the winter; and that when two Vigils occurred in one week, one a Vigil of Sunday, the other of a feast of Our Lord, the Vigil of Our Lord should be observed as an all-night Vigil, that of Sunday should begin at the sixth hour. However, after an all-night Vigil the nuns were allowed to retire and rose for Lauds an hour later than usual. Marin¹⁵ assures us that on days on which all-night Vigils were observed, the monks and nuns secured about two hours sleep, the other twenty-two hours having been spent almost entirely in prayer.

The regulations concerning the meals were very strict. Silence was prescribed during the meal, and one nun was to read from a holy book, that the soul might receive nourishment while food was being given to the body. No food was allowed to be taken away from the table; nor might a sister ask her neighbor for anything whatsoever, even a drop of water. During the Lents¹⁶ the prescriptions became more rigorous. The Easter Lent was the only one during which the nuns fasted every day. On the first and second day of this Lent the nuns were

¹⁴ The *μεσώριον* is a supplementary canonical hour, the recitation of which takes place in the interval between one Little Hour and the next following it. Therefore, there are four *μεσώρια*, like there are four Little Hours. They are recited, however, only during the two Lents of Christmas and of the Apostle conformably to this rubric, *τὰ μεσώρια λέγονται ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῶν Χριστουγέννων καὶ τῶν ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων Νηστεία. Ὁρολόγιον*, p. 64. Cf. Petit, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

¹⁵ Cf. L'Abbe Marin, *op. cit.*, 131.

¹⁶ The Greeks celebrate four Lents during the year, all of which they call the "forty days" although they do not all last so long. The first starts on November 15 and ends on Christmas Eve; the second on the Monday after the sixth Sunday before Easter, our Quinquagesima, and lasts until Easter; the third begins on the day after the first Sunday after Pentecost (their All Saints' Day) and lasts until June 28; the fourth is from August 1 to August 14. Cf. Adrian Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

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EDITORIALS

Idols Dethroned

Our staff still feels elated, we hope not unduly, over the fairly unanimous response to our symposium on the Society of Jesus. The March BULLETIN has aroused echoes that are music to editorial ears. "Superb," "the best in eighteen years of the BULLETIN's existence," and similar comments express the general reaction. An extra supply of reserve copies was completely exhausted in a few days. But there was some discord in the chorus, and our late regrets for the cause of it are not soothed by the realization that we lost an opportunity.

Unfortunately, in our last-minute rush to press too little space was allotted to Father Jean Delanglez's *Frontenac and the Jesuits*. This scholarly monograph, which pre-empted the material of no less than three potential doctoral dissertations, is a slashing vindication of the Jesuits of New France. As such it throws much light on knotty problems of a larger field. Even the scarcely suppressed indignation of the author harmonizes well with the general tone of our own effort to clean up the débris of refuted calumnies.

Father Delanglez deals with three major charges against the Jesuits of colonial Canada. The missionaries were accused of failing to make good Frenchmen of their Indian converts, of engaging in lucrative trade, of meddling in politics and needlessly perturbing consciences by their opposition to the brandy traffic. From rich documentary sources Father Delanglez marshals a mass of evidence to lay bare the situation as it actually was. He shows, as has been shown in vain before, the utter futility of the "Frenchification" policy; he sets forth the clear facts in the trade grievance, and makes it appear for what it was, a trumped-up slander born of greed and hatred; he makes the brandy traffic look like plain bootlegging with repulsive added features of exploitation of the defenseless savage. We hope the last word has been said on these topics.

Obviously, a refutation of false charges is likely to be an implicit glorification of the accused party. The lawyer for the defense in this case confines his argument pretty well to the points he is establishing and leaves the reader to infer the higher motivation behind the heroism of the Jesuits. He has little to say about their aims, their achieve-

ments and the spirit in which they labored. This pleasant task is reserved, we hope, for a future work. Here, he is merely clearing the ground of a rank overgrowth of fabricated legend. As in two of his earlier studies, *Some La Salle Journeys* and *The Journal of Jean Cavalier*, he swings right and left with his iconoclast broadaxe, and several pedestals rock under his blows. In the realm of romance he leaves the ground littered with fragments of gingerbread plaster with which panegyrist writers have covered the moral deficiencies of their heroes. Frontenac, Cadillac and La Salle have been honored names in the thrilling epic of French America, but they will hardly stand close scrutiny. All three might be permitted to retain their doubtful laurels were it not for the fact that their glory has been built, to a large degree, upon the slander of innocent men. Most historians know that neither the Iron Governor nor the founder of Detroit had a high regard for the truth. But when the victim is a Jesuit any means can be justified! Father Delanglez is doing a service, perchance a thankless service, in blasting the reputation of a few idols.

The Convention in Washington

It is a late hour to comment on the Christmas Week historical conventions. But this annual display of erudition, new interpretation, and good-fellowship among historians always awakens thoughts that clamor for expression. If this seems like warming up food that should have been served long ago, we can only plead lack of space in our last issue. The Quadricentennial symposium on the Society of Jesus had a prior claim.

If the bulk of the printed program may be taken as an index of expansion and power, the American Historical Association is growing rapidly. The number of offerings was, on a fair estimate, considerably more than twice as large as the average for the past decade. This provides, of course, a wider arena for more knights of Clio. It also provides, from the viewpoint of the passive listener, a more varied entertainment. But one may question the advantage in having to forego as many as nine presumably interesting sessions because he could not be in ten places at the same time. On the other hand, there are those who feel that papers, discussions and formal ad-

dresses are little more than a valid excuse for calling a thousand or more historians together in one spot. The best part of any convention is the time spent in the corridors between the sessions.

The frequent recurrence of "culture" on the program seems to reveal a new emphasis. "Liberalism," too, was quite prominent. The swing is definitely toward a probing of the meaning of historical data and away from the old emphasis on external facts. This is a healthy symptom, at least until the philosophizers become reckless. The most stimulating offering on the A. H. A. program was a double session devoted to "Medieval Culture, Ecclesiastical or Secular?" Here, one may faintly discern a tendency that can go too far. The question may have a very acceptable sense. But contraposing ecclesiastical and secular may mean something like separating the priest from the human being, or the saint from the mere man. *Primum est vivere*, and obviously a great part of life in any age is taken up with concerns that are not ecclesiastical. But it is equally obvious that the Middle Ages were not secular in the sense or to the degree that the modern world is secular. If there is just about as much "human nature" in one age as in another, it is still true that the medieval man, cleric or layman, was less likely to be distracted from the real business of life. The best feature of this discussion was the evident awareness of a secularized world about us, which awareness need not be taken for granted. Liberalism, on the other hand, is a worn-out theme except, perhaps, for the desperate effort of a few die-hards to revamp the old fallacy out of all recognition. These reflections are but a faint indication of how much there was to talk about at the convention.

A word on the meeting of the Catholic Historical Association is in order. The general topic was "the role of Catholic culture in the Latin American Republics." Aside from the scholarly address of the retiring president, Dr. Carlos Castañeda, and two luncheon discussions, nine papers dealt with as many South American countries. The field was well covered. The time and the place should have lent an extrinsic interest to the very vital topic. Yet the actual attendance at the sessions was discouraging. As usual, the C. H. A. was provided with a nearly ideal center for its discussions. But somehow the crowd surged past the open door with scarcely a side-long look at what they probably thought was a private gathering for Catholics only. There were, of course, enough Catholics present in the Mayflower Hotel to fill the luxurious East Room. But for most of us there were always a dozen other attractions. The problem seems to be to induce a sufficient number of non-Catholics to fill the vacant chairs while we shop around at other meetings. Certainly, one of the chief reasons for the existence of an association like the C. H. A. is to afford a means of contact, a bridge for the exchange of the one historical truth, colored as it is in the camp of "the enemy" and in our own.

Democracy, Which Way?

Alexis de Tocqueville was the "great prophet of the Mass Age." To us he is best known as the author of a classic, *Democracy in America*. Others have pronounced

his *Ancien Régime and the Revolution* his greatest work. He was a philosopher, a psychologist, a sociologist, but "it was only *through* history that he could exercise his rare faculty for universal, abstract condensation." His latest admiring biographer* finds that all great historical events happen three times over, the first time as tragedy, the second as comedy,—and the third time as farce. Tocqueville saw the tragedy of Jacobin "democracy," and the comedy of Napoleon III. His close observation of men and of social forces, his intuition if you will, filled his sensitive soul with apprehension at the future "revolt of the masses." He felt the drift of Europe toward the day of "plebiscitary dictatorship," when the sovereign people, fifty million strong, would exercise its "right" to vote for the leader of its choice. It would be wasted indignation to blame Tocqueville for having sensed the possible diversion of "democratic progress" toward the "popular" regime of Hitler or Stalin. We may not like the facts, but there they are.

Earlier this year we have commented upon *Democracy in America*. When the young French aristocrat came to our shores, over a hundred years ago, he regarded the American experiment merely as a sort of laboratory specimen. His larger interest lay in the irresistible advance of the levelling process in his own France. He had come into a world in which "aristocracy was dead and democracy yet unborn." He warned his friends that the choice between the Old Régime and the Revolution no longer existed. "Equality of conditions" was inevitably supplanting caste and privilege. The statesman, the citizen, the patriot could only hope to direct the rising flood, big with blessings for the average man and with destruction for the best elements of civilization. There were those who liked his exposure of the dangers and weakness inherent in democracy. There were others who saw in him the champion of freedom and justice for all.

But whatever else he was, Tocqueville was no partisan. If he was a liberal, he was "a liberal of a new kind." He had nothing but contempt for the philosophy of the bloated Bourgeois who thought that government was instituted merely that the rich man might sleep securely in his bed. He taught "not only that there may be both free and unfree democracies, but that there are two kinds of freedom—the freedom of caprice and that other freedom which is governed by the eternal laws of human dignity and human morality." He had a passion for freedom of the right kind and for justice. He believed in law and order, in morality and religion, in God's providence and man's responsibility, in moral good and evil and in a future life. All of these were ignored by the milling mobs around him, and by their "liberal" masters. Not a pessimist, and not in despair, he yet envisaged a debased democracy under the dictator's whip.

* J. P. Mayer, *Alexis de Tocqueville*. New York. The Viking Press. 1940. pp. xvii + 233. \$3.00. This "biographical essay in political science" was an easy book to write. Given an ability to recognize deep thinking and keen observation in his hero, the author needed only to select striking passages and weave them together by means of a running commentary. It may be that we are over-enthusiastic, but there is much in Tocqueville that is timeless in its political wisdom. The publisher will probably prefer to have us call this a timely book,—though it limps in spots.

Labor in Eighteenth Century England

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IN THE economic sphere especially, the eighteenth century is a period of transition. Viewed from one angle, it is a twilight hour of history; from another, one sees only the uncertain light of a new dawn. Since it marks the passing of old-fashioned production by hand and in the home to the more complicated factory system, we must not look for a clear, cut and dried, policy of Parliament towards industry. It was essentially a time of groping towards a new attitude, with much looking back and glimpsing the ever dimming light of the policy which had guided England for centuries. Little by little, Parliament forsook its old policy of intervention in industry. "Nevertheless", Mr. Lipson reminds us, at this time, "parliament was not guided by any conscious theory of non-intervention in industrial matters."¹

To appreciate thoroughly the deep meaning of the reversal of policy by the government at the close of the eighteenth century, we must consider what the attitude of Parliament had been before and during the greater part of the eighteenth century. For as late as 1760 England was still to a great extent "under the medieval system of minute and manifold industrial regulations."² Of course, that system was manifestly decaying. It had not, however, been supplanted by the *laissez faire* principle of the nineteenth century.

The medieval system had its origin at the time when the Christian ideal was at its height. The state was then looked upon as a religious as well as a secular institution whose end was to embrace the whole of man's life.³ In regard to labor the government had as its purpose the regulation of economic life in such a way as "to maintain wages and working conditions on a subsistence basis, which however inadequate, was nevertheless stable and dependable."⁴

When one looks at the legislation of 1563 in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, there can be no doubt of the definiteness of the then prevailing policy of the government towards industry.⁵ It was in that year that the Elizabethan *Statute of Apprentices* was enacted. In the clauses of this statute we witness the conscious policy of governmental intervention in industry. To quote the Webbs, "by the celebrated 'Statute of Apprentices' the statesmen of the time contrived arrangements which would as they hoped, 'yield unto the hired person, both in the time of scarcity and in the time of plenty a convenient proportion of wages'."

Every year the justices of each locality were to meet, "and calling unto them such discreet and grave persons . . . as they think meet, and conferring together respecting the plenty or scarcity of the time," were to fix the wages of practically every kind of labour, their decisions being enforceable by heavy penalties. Stringent regulations as to the necessity of apprenticeship, the length of its term and the number of apprentices to be taken by each employer, received the confirmation of law. The typical ordinances of the mediæval guild were in fact, enacted

in minute detail in a comprehensive general statute applying to the greater part of industry of the period.⁶

Basing his statement on Blackstone, Lecky asserts: "during the whole of the eighteenth century the famous law of Elizabeth determining the condition of industry was in force."⁷ By law it was established that at least seven years apprenticeship must be served before any one could practise a trade; that twenty-one years was the minimum age of an apprentice; that for every three apprentices employed every master must have one journeyman; that wages should be fixed by Justices of the Peace, who also were authorized to arbitrate difficulties between masters and apprentices.

Although these laws were still on the books at the beginning of the eighteenth century, they were not rigidly enforced, being applied only in market towns and to industries which had existed before 1563. The seven year apprenticeship was not required in country villages nor in recent trades. However the workmen always looked to the Acts of 1563 as their *Magna Charta*, and, when in the middle of the eighteenth century the Justices refused to fix the wage rates they complained bitterly. The restrictive system was popular with the laboring class but, as is easily imagined, was generally opposed or evaded by the masters.

It is here that we find the key to the fluctuating and largely opportunist policy of the government towards labor after 1760. On the one side we see the workmen flooding Parliament with petitions to regulate existing abuses. On the other side we find the captains of industry opposing regulation because of the situation produced by the rapid development of industry which could not be permitted to be hampered by the old regulations.⁸ The interests of the employer and worker were becoming opposed. What the worker asked for was a higher wage; some security against unemployment due to the installation of machinery or the hiring of apprentices in excess of the number allowed by law; less harsh discipline in the workshop. The employer's concern was to reduce wages; speed up production and hold absolute sway in his shop or factory.⁹ Due to these conflicting and contradictory interests, Parliament was often at a loss what to do. We meet cases where it reverses its decision at the instigation of the opposing party as, for example, in 1770 for the coal heavers and in 1773 for the silk weavers. Despite this, however, we may conclude with Mr. Lipson "the trend of its thought is unmistakable, for good or for evil it was moving steadily in the direction of freedom of contract."¹⁰ With this as our background, we will turn now to the checkered yet advancing course of Parliament to *laissez faire*.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the attitude towards labor was still that of the men who passed the

¹ E. Lipson, *The Economic History of England* (London, 1931) II, 270.

² A. Toynbee, *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in England* (London, 1928), 51.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Witt Bowden, *Industrial Society in England towards the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1925), 289.

⁵ W. J. Ashley, *Economic History* (London, 1906) II, 165.

⁶ S. & B. Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (New York, 1920), 48.

⁷ W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1887) VI, 233.

⁸ Lecky, *op. cit.*, 234.

⁹ P. Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1934), 451.

¹⁰ Lipson, *op. cit.*, 271.

Act of 1563. When, in 1726, the weavers of Wilts and Somerset combined in petitioning Parliament against the harshness and fraud of their employers, a Committee of the Privy Council was appointed to investigate their grievances and to arrange "articles of agreement" for the settlement of the matter in dispute.¹¹ In 1728 the Gloucestershire weavers petitioned the local Justices of Peace to fix liberal scales of wages for the weavers of the country, while protesting against the employment of men who had not served the legal term of apprenticeship.¹² In 1756 they obtained an Act from the House of Commons fixing the price of piece work, "Table or Scheme for Rate of Wages."¹³ This Act was not in force a year when the workers were disconcerted by a complete about face in the policy of the government towards them. For, the employers had not been idle; they complained against the limitations on their freedom of action. In 1757 the Act of the previous year for the "Woolen Cloth Weavers" was repealed. "And", say the Webbs, "parliament was now heading straight for *laissez-faire*."¹⁴

But we must not get the impression that Parliament had any conscious intention of surrendering its right of regulating industry, at this time.¹⁵ That such was not the conscious intention of the government is shown clearly from the Spitalfields Acts of 1768 and 1773. The silk workers of Spitalfields complained of their unemployment and sorry plight due to the importation of foreign silk. Serious riots resulted, inducing Parliament to pass an Act in 1768 regulating the importation of silk. This, however, was not enough, for no provision was made for maintaining wages. Hence, more riots occurred in 1769. In 1773 Parliament passed another act which regulated the wages and hours of the weavers. It is thus evident that law makers were not yet influenced by the new economic doctrines or political philosophy of Adam Smith.¹⁶

Towards the close of the century, however, we see the complete abandonment of the workers by the government, which sacrificed them on the altar of *laissez-faire* and the growing industrial system.

The introduction of machinery struck a fatal blow to the apprenticeship regulations to which the workers clung so tenaciously. Obviously, long training was no longer required. Factories were being filled with child-laborers to the detriment of the adult-worker and his subsistence standard of wages. In 1803 and 1804, Parliament was petitioned for an act to enforce the apprenticeship system. But despite Sheridan's eloquent appeal on their behalf the bill never received a second hearing. Sir Robert Peel, the manufacturer, had killed the bill. But despite their failure, the workers tried again in 1813 and 1814 with one last effort to save the old system. The committee reporting on the question could come to no conclusion, though the chairman of the board cast his vote for the workers' cause. Yet the manufacturers won the day again; the clause of 1563 concerning apprentices was deleted from the records.

In 1813, Parliament repealed the section of the Elizabethan Statute empowering Justices to fix wages. The years 1813 and 1814 witnessed the disappearance of the last trace of the old system. "The policy of *laissez-faire* was supreme, and went unchallenged in the courts as

well as in parliament."¹⁷

The desertion of the old policy of regulating economic life was rapid and conscious intended during the last years of the eighteenth century. It is true that the old system of regulation could not cope with the great upheaval in economic society. The change of policy was dominated, however, by the accompanying doctrine of *laissez-faire*, "which", according to Witt Bowden, "helped to prevent the development of a new system of regulation compatible with the changes in economic life."¹⁸

¹¹ Webb, *op. cit.*, 50.

¹² Mantoux, *op. cit.*, 464.

¹³ Webb, *op. cit.*, 50.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁵ Mantoux, *op. cit.*, 465.

¹⁶ Mantoux, *op. cit.*, 465; Webb, *op. cit.*, 55.

¹⁷ Mantoux, *op. cit.*, 475.

¹⁸ Bowden, *op. cit.*, 289.

Medieval Monastery

(Continued from page 78)

warned that no thought must be given to the table or to food. On the other days of this week the table was set and pulses soaked in water, some raw vegetables, and perhaps also fruit were served. For drink, water seasoned with cummin¹⁷ was used. The Rule specified in detail what food was allowed each day of Lent. Occasionally boiled food was permitted, boiled sometimes with water, sometimes with oil. Meat was never eaten. Fish was permitted only on great feast days or when a consolation meal was provided. A consolation meal seems in the Rule to have been a meal with fish given to the nuns by some "Christ-loving" persons, as they are called.

Although there is no specific mention of the nuns making the Vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, yet the obligations of the Rule imply that they were made. The Rule provided for a novitiate and a religious profession according to the canonical prescriptions of the Holy Fathers, and at the religious profession, according to Marin,¹⁸ the perpetual vow of chastity is made. As regards poverty, the Rule ordered that all expenditures for the nuns should be made from the income of the monastery; that no nun should ask even so much as a little water from another; and that every nun, unless ill, should eat at the common table and share the common life. Consequently, religious poverty was observed. Again, the Rules regulated every moment of the day and night, and where any choice was possible the Rule ordered that it be according to the will of the superior. Hence, obedience was exacted of each nun.

In addition to all these rules, definite directions were laid down concerning the alms to be given at the gate, the lighting of the church for services, the commemorations to be made for the members of the royal family, and the burial of the nuns. The greatest emphasis was put on the prescriptions forbidding any change to be made in the Rule itself, in the method of life, in the possessions of the monastery, or in the form of the buildings of the monastery. The Rule ends incompletely with a description of the boundaries of the monastery.

¹⁷ Water seasoned with cummin (a common spice or relish eaten with the food) was used not only by the Greek monks and nuns but also by the Latin. Cf. Montfauconius, *op. cit.*, p. 1065.

¹⁸ Cf. L'Abbe Marin, *op. cit.*, 122.

Macaulay's Jesuit Legend

Raymond Corrigan, S. J., Ph. D.

A LEGEND presumably does not correspond with historical fact. Yet it may be of considerable interest to the historian. Now and then he may be able to see the element of truth behind it. In almost every instance, something that really happened has caught the popular imagination. Embellished and expanded with the passing years, the original kernel is generally lost in the lush overgrowth. There is also very often the gratuitous fabrication due to fear, malice or some sort of literary perversity. Such is the Jesuit legend, the several variations of which are an odd mixture of half-truth and plain falsehood. Its enduring strength lies partly in the type of mind that swallows it and partly in the literary appeal of the writers who have set it forth.

Thomas Babington Macaulay is not by any means the most virulent defamer of the Jesuits, but his boundless erudition, his mastery of words and his reckless use of them give a plausibility to his exaggerations and distortions. It is pleasant to read his smooth-flowing English, and the easy reading tends to make one uncritical. Some of his victims will even resent being asked to abandon a pretty illusion. It is, as a matter of humiliating fact, characteristic of the unhistorical mind to adhere to beliefs that originate without conscious effort. The legend has been defined as a story that cannot be proved. Because they like it the gullible majority want to believe it anyway. Usually also, the legend cannot be disproved. But in the case of the Jesuits the historical record is plain as a world almanac. Here, we are attempting no refutation. What the Jesuits were and what they did makes an important chapter of modern history. What the heirs of the Protestant Tradition imagined they were is likewise an historical fact that is worth knowing. The legend is inherently contradictory, incredible. It should fall of its own weight.

"The mighty Order of Jesus," writes the facile Mr. Macaulay,* amply repaid papal protection. "But for their exertions it is probable that the Bishop of Rome would have been merely the honorary president of a vast aristocracy of prelates." As in a former age the Benedictines had aided Gregory VII against Franconian caesars and against the secular clergy; as once the Dominicans and Franciscans [sic!] had crushed the Albigenses, so in the modern age the Jesuits rose to meet a more formidable danger. He then proceeds to tell what marvelous men the Jesuits were. But he exalts them only the more surely to blast their reputation. If we refrain from further comment, it is because our purpose is not to defend the Jesuits, but to present a legend in its milder, though effective form.

* *History of England*, II, 60-64. This excursus on the Jesuits owes its insertion in this book to their presumed bad influence on James II. The first volume appeared in 1849; the whole work was revised in 1857. A better known, but nearly identical version is found in Macaulay's *Essay on Leopold von Ranke's History of the Popes*. The English edition of von Ranke and the *Essay* were both published in 1840, a sort of tercentennial tribute to the Society of Jesus!

Paragraphing and italics are not in the original text.

Inflation

When the Jesuits came to the rescue they found the Papacy in extreme peril: but from that moment the tide of battle turned. Protestantism, which had, during a whole generation, carried all before it, was stopped in its progress, and rapidly beaten back from the foot of the Alps to the shores of the Baltic. Before the Order had existed a hundred years it had filled the whole world with memorials of great things done and suffered for the faith. No religious community could produce a list of men so variously distinguished; none had extended its operation over so vast a space; yet in none had there ever been such unity of feeling and action.

There was no region of the globe, no walk of speculative or active life, in which the Jesuits were not to be found. They guided the counsels of Kings. They deciphered Latin inscriptions. They observed the motions of Jupiter's satellites. They published whole libraries, controversy, casuistry, history, treatises on optics, Alcaic odes, editions of the Fathers, madrigals, catechisms, lampoons. The liberal education of youth passed almost entirely into their hands, and was conducted by them with conspicuous ability. They appear to have discovered the precise point to which intellectual culture can be carried without the risk [!] of intellectual emancipation. Enmity itself was compelled to own that, in the art of managing and forming the tender mind, they had no equals. Meanwhile they assiduously and successfully cultivated the eloquence of the pulpit. With still greater assiduity and still greater success they applied themselves to the ministry of the confessional. Throughout Roman Catholic Europe the secrets of every government, and almost of every family of note were in their keeping [!].

They glided from one Protestant country to another in various disguises, as gay Cavaliers, as simple rustics, as Puritan preachers. They wandered to countries which neither mercantile avidity nor liberal curiosity had ever impelled any stranger to explore. They were found in the garb of Mandarins, superintending the observatory at Peking. They were to be found, spade in hand, teaching the rudiments of agriculture to the savages of Paraguay. Yet, whatever might be their residence, whatever might be their employment, their spirit was the same, entire devotion to the common cause, unreasoning obedience to the central authority.

None of them had chosen his dwelling-place or his vocation for himself. Whether the Jesuit should live under the arctic circle or under the equator, whether he should pass his life in arranging gems and in collecting manuscripts at the Vatican or in persuading naked barbarians under the Southern Cross not to eat each other, were matters which he left with profound submission to the decision of others.

If he was wanted at Lima, he was on the Atlantic in the next fleet. If he was wanted at Bagdad, he was toiling through the desert with the next caravan. If his ministry was needed in some country where his life was more insecure than that of the wolf, where it was a crime to harbor him, where the heads and quarters of his brethren, fixed in the public places, showed him what he had to expect, he went without remonstrance or hesitation to his doom.

Nor is this heroic spirit yet extinct. When, in our own time a new and terrible pestilence passed round the globe, when in some great cities, fear had dissolved all the ties that hold society together, when the secular clergy had forsaken their flocks, when medical succor was not to be purchased by gold, when the strongest natural affections had yielded to the love of life, even then the Jesuit was found by the pallet which bishop and curate, physician and nurse, father and mother had deserted, bending over infected lips to catch the faint accents of confession, and holding up to the last, before the expiring penitent, the image of the expiring Redeemer.

Deflation

But with the admirable energy, disinterestedness, and self-devotion which were characteristic of the Society, great vices were mingled. *It was alleged*, and not without foundation [!], that the ardent public spirit which made the Jesuit regardless of his ease, of his liberty, of his life, made him also regardless of truth and of mercy; that no means which could promote the interest of his religion seemed to him unlawful, and that by the interest of his religion he too often meant the interest of his Society.

It was alleged that, in the most atrocious plots recorded in history, his agency could be distinctly traced, that constant only in attachment to the fraternity to which he belonged, he was in

some countries the most dangerous enemy of freedom, and in others the most dangerous enemy of order. The mighty victories which he boasted that he had achieved in the cause of the Church were, in the judgment of many illustrious members of the Church, more apparent than real. He had indeed labored with a wonderful show of success to reduce the world under her laws; but he had done this by relaxing her laws to suit the temper of the world. Instead of toiling to elevate human nature to the noble standard fixed by divine precept and example, he had lowered the standard until it was beneath [!] the average level of human nature.

He gloried in multitudes of converts who had been baptized in remote regions of the East; but it was reported that from some of those converts the facts on which the whole theology of the Gospel depends had been cunningly concealed, and that others were permitted to avoid persecution by bowing down before the images of false gods, while inwardly repeating Paters and Aves.

Nor was it only in heathen countries that such arts were practised. It was not strange that people of all ranks, and especially of the highest ranks, crowded to the confessionals in the Jesuit temples; for from those confessionals none went discontented away. There the priest was all things to all men. He showed just so much rigor as might not drive those who knelt at his spiritual tribunal to the Dominican or the Franciscan church. If he had to deal with the truly devout, he spoke in the saintly tones of the primitive fathers; but with that large part of mankind who have religion enough to keep them uneasy when they do wrong, and not enough to keep them from doing wrong, he followed a different system. Since he could not reclaim them from vice, it was his business to save them from remorse [!].

He had at his command an immense dispensary of anodynes for wounded consciences. In the books of casuistry which had been written by his brethren, and printed with the approbation of his superiors, were to be found doctrines consolatory to transgressors of every class. There the bankrupt was taught how he might, without sin, secrete his goods from his creditors. There the servant was taught how he might, without sin, run off with his master's plate. The pander was assured that a Christian might innocently earn his living by carrying letters and messages between married women and their gallants. The high-spirited and punctilious gentlemen of France were gratified by a decision in favor of duelling. The Italians, might, without any crime, shoot at their enemies from behind hedges. To deceit was given a license sufficient to destroy the whole value of human contracts and of human testimony. In truth, if society continued to hold together, if life and property enjoyed any security, it was because common-sense and common humanity restrained men from doing what the Order of Jesus assured them they might with a safe conscience do [!!!].

So strangely were good and evil mixed in the character of these celebrated brethren; and the intermixture was the *secret of their gigantic power*. That power could never have belonged to mere hypocrites. It could never have belonged to rigid moralists. It was to be attained only by men sincerely enthusiastic in the pursuit of a great end, and at the same time *unscrupulous in the choice of means*.

From the first the Jesuits had been bound by a peculiar allegiance to the Pope. Their mission had been not less to quell all mutiny within the Church than to repel the hostility of her avowed enemies. Their doctrine was what has been called on this side of the Alps Ultramontane, and differed almost as much from the doctrine of Bossuet as from that of Luther. They condemned the Gallican liberties, the claim of the œcumenical councils to control the Holy See, and the claim of the Bishops to an independent commission from heaven. Lainez, in the name of the whole fraternity, proclaimed at Trent, amidst the applause of the creatures of Pius the Fourth and the murmurs of the French and Spanish prelates, that the government of the faithful had been committed by Christ to the Pope alone, that in the Pope alone all sacerdotal authority was concentrated, and that through the Pope alone priests and bishops derived whatever [!] power they possessed.

During many years the union between the Supreme Pontiffs and the Order had continued unbroken. Had that union been still unbroken when James the Second ascended the English throne, had the influence of the Jesuits as well as the influence of the Pope been exerted in favor of a moderate and constitutional policy, it is probable that the great revolution which in a short time changed the whole state of European affairs would never have taken place. But even before the middle of the seventeenth century, the Society, proud of its services and confident in its strength, had become impatient of the yoke. A generation of Jesuits sprang up, who looked for protection and guidance rather to the court of France than to the court of Rome; and this disposition was not a little strengthened when Innocent the

Eleventh was raised to the papal throne.

The Jesuits were, at that time, engaged in a war to the death with an enemy whom they had at first disdained, but whom they had at length been forced to regard with respect and fear. Just when their prosperity was at the height, they were braved by a handful of opponents, who had indeed no influence with the rulers of this world [!], but who were strong in religious faith and in intellectual energy. Then followed a long, a strange, a glorious conflict of genius against power [!]. The Jesuit called cabinets, tribunals, universities to his aid; and they responded to the call. Port Royal appealed, and not in vain, to the hearts and the understandings of millions [?]. The dictators of Christendom found themselves, on a sudden, in the position of criminals.

They were arraigned on the charge of having systematically debased the standard of evangelical morality, for the purpose of increasing their own influence; and the charge was enforced in a manner which at once arrested the attention of the whole world: for the chief accuser was Blaise Pascal. His powers of mind were such as have rarely been bestowed on any of the children of men; and the vehemence of the zeal which animated him was but too well proved in the cruel penances and vigils under which his mascerated frame sank into an early grave. His spirit was the spirit of Saint Bernard; but the delicacy of his wit, the purity, the energy, the simplicity of his rhetoric, had never been equaled except by the great masters of Attic eloquence. All Europe read and admired, laughed and wept.

The Jesuits attempted to reply; but their feeble answers were received by the public with shouts of mockery. They wanted, it is true, no talent or accomplishment into which men can be drilled by elaborate discipline; but such discipline, though it may bring out the powers of ordinary minds, has a tendency to suffocate, rather than develop *original genius*. It was universally acknowledged that, in the literary contest, the Jansenists were completely victorious. To the Jesuits nothing was left but to oppress the sect which they could not refute [!].

Unfortunately, the dictator of today presents something more than our academic problem. In a recent study (C. H. Williams, "The Pattern of Dictatorship," *History*, XXIV (December, 1939), 236-246) we have a definition and an attempted analysis. The essence of dictatorship, we are told, is "the government of one man who has not primarily obtained his position by inheritance, but by either force of consent, and normally by a combination of both. . . . all political power must ultimately emanate from his will, and it must be unlimited in scope. It must be exercised more or less frequently, in an arbitrary manner by decree rather than by law. Finally it must not be limited in duration to any given term of office."

"The leader is the product of despair: he rises in an age of mass democracy, as a substitute for shattered institutions. Thus his rise is partly explained as due to the weakening or disappearance of political institutions, the breakdown of the ruling class, and the undermining of an accepted code of values. Above all, he comes when men have persuaded themselves that government is something external to themselves, when, weary of the effort needed, they deliberately evade the responsibilities and the difficulties of the discipline of self-government. It is at such a time that the primitive urge for a personal leader wells up again in civilized man, and makes nonsense of the generalization that when society reaches an advanced stage of civilization its members discard personal symbols and can express loyalty to an idea through an institution instead of a person. . . . The general pattern shows that the dictator is not the main feature of the modern dictatorship. His function is to lead, not necessarily to govern, and when he is seen against his background it becomes clear that more important than he, is the design of the totalitarian state, of which he forms but a part. In the course of its development it has made the dictator after its own fashion."

The Catholic Church in Finland

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THE history of the Catholic Church in Finland is both a curious and a difficult one. The Catholics in that country do not exceed 2,000 souls out of a total population of 3,600,000. Some 70,000 are of the Greek Orthodox faith. The rest are Lutherans.

The ecclesiastical history of Finland can be divided into three periods, the one preceding the Reformation, the one from the Reformation to the time of Finnish Independence and the period which follows the proclamation of independence.

Before the Reformation

Christianity was introduced into Finland and the Lapp country by the Swedes, who under King Eric conquered Finland in 1153. These Swedish conquests were renewed in 1249 and in 1293, and the consequences were to bring Finland into relationship with the western world. One can assert that the entire country was not converted until the end of the 13th century.

Of those faraway times very touching memories have been preserved, recollections which are still dear to the Finns. As a matter of fact, in 1933, the memory of their great bishop of the Middle Ages, Magnus II Olai of the clan of Tawast was honored by a Commemorative Stamp, the profit of which incidentally, was devoted to the Red Cross. Born at Virmo in 1357, Magnus II studied at the University of Prague and became, in 1413, the Bishop of Abo. He occupied his see until 1450, when he resigned on account of his very advanced age.

Magnus II died on the 9th of March, 1452 after having been for a long time a member of the Swedish Government Council. In the administration of his immense diocese, he showed a real talent for organization as well as a great amount of apostolic zeal. It was he who founded in Naantali (Nadendal) the convent of Saint-Brigit. "He was great," they were wont to say, "both in his works and in name": *Et re et nomine Magnus*.

From the Reformation to Independence

It was in the reign of Gustavus Vasa that the Protestant Reformation was introduced into Finland by the Canon of Turku, Pietari Sarkilahti, who had made his studies at the University of Wittenberg. On the 5th of January, 1528, the Protestant bishop of Turku was installed, the first of a line which was not to receive the confirmation of the Pope. But Catholicism continued to exist up to the day of the death of the last nun in the Convent of Naantali in 1591.

The Church then disappeared entirely during two centuries, but by decrees of Gustavus III, in 1779 and 1781, Catholics of Sweden were permitted the free exercise of their religion. Monsignor Oster, sent to Finland by the Pope, proposed to bring together the few faithful Finnish Catholics. However, in 1809, Finland was incorporated in the Russian Empire and found herself thus subject, in ecclesiastical matters, to the Archbishop of Mahilew, whose superior resided at St. Petersburg, and who had jurisdiction over the entire Russian Empire with the exception of Poland.

In 1857, a Polish Military Chaplain was sent to Helsinki to minister to the Polish soldiers of the garrison, and a church was built for their use at the expense of the Russian War Ministry.

But this chaplain was unable to care for the few Catholics scattered within the city and over the countryside. It was then that the Countess Adlerberg, the wife of the governor of Finland, brought into Helsinki German priests, together with a few nuns of the same nationality. But upon the departure of Count Adlerberg, their chapel was closed and the church of the garrison became the parish church. Polish priests continued their ministry as curates until as late as 1906.

At that time, a Finnish priest of Swedish origin, Father V. de Christierson, a graduate of the Seminary of St. Sulpice of Paris, was named curate of Helsinki. It was he who brought into Finland the priests of the Sacred Heart, a congregation of French origin founded in 1877 at Saint-Quentin by Canon Dehon of the diocese of Soissons, France.

But all this Catholic activity did not meet with the approval of the Russian government. Father de Christierson was forced to resign and was replaced as curate by a Polish priest. Between the years 1908 and 1912, the priests of the Sacred Heart were expelled on five different occasions. Finally in 1912, they were obliged to leave the country with no hope of returning. As for Father de Christierson, he opened a chapel consecrated to the Holy Cross for the non-Polish Catholics of Helsinki, numbering about 600 souls.

Era of Independence

The Russian Revolution of 1917 radically changed conditions in the country. At the end of that year, the Finnish Diet proclaimed the independence of Finland. In ecclesiastical as well as in civil affairs the country found itself separated from Russia. *Pourparlers* were undertaken with Rome so that the Holy See might establish a Vicariate Apostolic.

These conversations with the Holy See were tedious and complicated. It was only at the beginning of 1920 that a letter from Cardinal Gasparri, Secretary of State of Pope Benedict XV, of happy memory, announced to the Finnish Government that Finland would be supplied presently with an Apostolic Vicar directly dependent on Rome.

It was a priest of the Sacred Heart, Monsignor Bucks, who was chosen for the post, but as soon as his nomination was learned, a strong opposition was formed in the country. Monsignor Bucks was a member of a congregation; his entry into Finland would not be authorized, since a resolution of the Diet of January 20, 1779, forbade the founding of convents in the country and the admission of monks. This contention was answered by the explanation that a bishop, even though a member of the congregation before his episcopal consecration, was no longer bound by rules of his order or of his congregation after his consecration.

Monsignor Bucks came into Helsinki on July 2, 1921. He was consecrated May 23, 1923, but resigned in 1934 to be replaced by the present apostolic Vicar, Monsignor Cobben. The present Finnish Vicariate comprises nine priests of whom six are members of congregations and two are Finnish seculars. It contains four parishes, Helsinki, Viipuri, Turku, and Terijoki. Mass is celebrated once a month at Kuopio and at Hamina. Congregations of nuns have been established at Helsinki and Viipuri. The clergy publishes a small monthly review: *Uskon Samona* (The Messenger of Faith). Such in outline is the Catholic history of this Christian land whose deeds in the war against Russia have won the admiration of the entire world.

Japan Looks Back

(Continued from page 76)

scholars such as Fr. Louis Frois, S. J., and Fr. Rodriguez Tçuzzu, S. J. That of Fr. Frois has already been edited in large part,⁵ and the remaining chapters will be published soon. Professor K. Kanokigi says of this work: "This volume is a rich mine of new knowledge for the history of Japan. Its information sometimes elucidates, like a flash of lightning, many hidden connections of which we find no mention in Japanese historical works. . . . It is a true image of the Japanese nation."⁶ And with regard to the historical method used by Fr. Rodriguez Tçuzzu in his "History of the Church of Japan," Fr. G. Schurhammer, S. J., states: "How cautiously Tçuzzu went to work is clearly illustrated by his most interesting explanation of the origin of the Japanese people, where he cites as sources Japanese, Chinese, and Korean historical works, selecting them carefully and confirming them by local relics and traditions as well as by linguistic and cultural relationships."⁷

Every historical work besides being history is, at the same time, something of an interpretation, conditioned of course by the education of the writer, by his own religious views, and by the philosophical outlook held by him. Therefore sifting and evaluating both Japanese and European records, while keeping in mind the fact that their respective authors were necessarily judging from different points of vantage, today we are able to get a much more objective and unbiased picture of the history of that time.

Another point of first-rate importance which should not be lost sight of, is the comparatively strong influence which was exercised by the Jesuit mission press of the sixteenth century. Today when mission schools and missionary literature are considered so indispensable for insuring solid progress in the Faith, we can not fail to admire profoundly the sixteenth century missionaries in Japan who were extremely modern in their choice of mission methods. Especially after 1580 many colleges,

seminaries and other schools were erected in the larger Christian centers, and these educational institutions required readers, manuals and other sorts of textbooks. Fr. Alexandro Valignano, S. J., after St. Francis Xavier perhaps the greatest organizer in the Far Eastern missions, on his second voyage to Japan in 1590, brought with him a printing press with movable type, the first of its kind in the empire. During the following twenty years a great number of books were published both for the use of schools and for the training of the faithful. Sir Ernest Satow, who later became the British Minister in Japan, published in 1888 a bibliography on the subject, in which he gave a detailed description of fourteen books from this mission press. Since that time eleven other books have been discovered and we know for a certainty, that still more works were published.⁸ However exalted the merits of these Jesuit publications may have been because of the enormous scientific and technical difficulties they had to overcome, and whatever high significance and usefulness they may have had for the direct work of the mission,⁹ their immediate influence on Japanese science and culture was not very profound. More considerable however is the cultural importance attached to these first printings today, especially for the history of the Japanese language, since they represent, in many respects, the only available sources for the knowledge of the 'spoken language' of that particular period.

The reason is quite obvious. Many of the books published by the Jesuits were planned as textbooks for the study of the spoken language as well as to serve as manuals for preachers and confessors. It was of capital importance for all the missionaries to acquire a sufficient knowledge of the spoken language in order to understand and teach the people. To facilitate the learning of the every day language which differs in grammar and vocabulary very much from written Japanese, many of the books from the mission press were written in this spoken language, a fact unique in the history of Japanese writings, as practically all the books of those times were published in the traditional 'written' style. These books, therefore, are the only sources for the study of the spoken language of that period and every Japanese scholar dealing with the history of the Japanese language is, perforce, bound to get nearly all of his information from these first prints. This fact aroused high interest in the early studies made by the Jesuits in the language, and many careful investigations have shown that their research work is of extraordinary historical value. These grammars and dictionaries—one of them contains about thirty thousand words!—are regarded by Japanese scholars as critical editions of high standard. On this topic Professor Tadao Doi writes in a very elaborate study: "It is a testimony of the diligent study and the farsighted understanding of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, that they brought out dictionaries, very practical and at the same time of high

⁵ *Die Geschichte Japans (1549-1578) von P. Louis Frois S. J.*, translated by G. Schurhammer and A. Voretzsch. Leipzig, 1925. —P. Luis Frois, S. J., *Segunda parte da Historia de Japan, (1578-1582)*, edited by J. Pinto and Y. Okamoto, Tōkyō, 1939.

⁶ *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, 1928, p. 451.

⁷ "P. Johann Tçuzzu als Geschichtsschreiber Japans," in *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu*, I (1932), p. 31.

⁸ Ernest Mason Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan, 1591-1610*. New edition in manual-print by Kegan Paul, London 1928. For further details about the mission press see *Monumenta Nipponica* I (1938), pp. 138-153 and II (1939) pp. 374-385.

⁹ That more than fifty thousand Christians kept their faith without priests and sacraments for over 200 years is probably a result of this apostolate of mission literature.

Gerald of Aurillac: Medieval Layman

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IT HAS often been said that the life of St. Louis IX of France, the other canonized layman to merit a place in our symposium, was a summary of the aspirations of his age, a perfect picture of the ideals of chivalry which dominated the period. This cannot be asserted of Gerald of Aurillac. The spirit of that great nobleman was utterly foreign to the anarchy and chaos of the epoch in which he lived. Against the background of the latter half of the ninth century, the darkest period of the Christian Era, Count Gerald stands out as a paragon of virtue. Of this Boissonnade bears witness,

During the first two centuries in which it prevailed, this regime was exceedingly hard. Although good and charitable lords were to be found, like Count Gerald of Aurillac, who was canonized by the church. . . the majority of the feudal lords were exacting and capricious masters, incapable of controlling their violent passions.¹

The story of his life comes to us from the pen of St. Odo, the great abbot of Cluny. Gerald had recently died, and the many miracles which had taken place at his tomb were arousing widespread interest. Odo at first doubted the sanctity of the late nobleman, but at the request of a group of monks, he set out to gather materials for a biography. He interviewed four men, who had known Gerald from childhood, a priest, a monk, and two laymen. Questioning these separately, he found them in agreement on the facts of Gerald's life. The account, divided into four books, is given in the *Patrologia Latina*² and the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*.³ Of this excellent biography, Pignot says, "Written with a sincere love of truth, full of graceful details, and at the same time of vigorous reflections on the life of the age, it put the seal of glory on the Baron of Aurillac."⁴

Born in 855, the son of the count of Limousin, he was named after his grandfather Gerald of Auvergne, who had been killed at the battle of Fontenoy in the service of Charles the Bald. Pignot bears witness to his noble ancestry: "He numbered among his maternal ancestors Louis the Pious and Charlemagne."⁵ In youth Gerald pursued the course of military training, usually given a young noble, until he was stricken with a prolonged illness. This restricted him from training his body, but gave him ample time to educate his mind by the study of literature. Of his mental ability Odo writes, "He possessed keen judgment and ability to learn with ease and rapidity."⁶ Gerald, in due time, became a good student and a good warrior. Odo describes his physical characteristics: he was not tall, but of mediocre height, strong, and well formed in body.

Upon the death of his father, he succeeded to his position and fortune, which he used to help the poor and downtrodden. His hospitality and charity became widely recognized, for all, rich and poor alike had access to him. A lover of peace, he sought every means, both natural

and supernatural, to avoid war; but he never hesitated to come to the defense of the oppressed. When war was inevitable, he strove hard to lessen its horrors, to protect the lives of his soldiers, and to spare as many of the enemy as possible. Odo writes concerning his success in battle: "It was never reported that at any time victory failed to come to him, and to the soldiers who fought under his banner."⁷ Such were his personal bravery, chivalry, and military skill that he has been called by a modern writer "the Bayard of the Feudal Age."⁸

The magnanimity of his character is manifest in the many anecdotes related by Odo. One of these Pirenne narrates in his *Economic and Social History*:

As this pious lord was returning from a pilgrimage to Rome, he met in Pavia some Venetian merchants, who asked him to buy oriental stuffs and spices. Now, he had himself purchased in Rome a magnificent pallium which he took the opportunity of showing to them, mentioning how much he had paid for it. But when they congratulated him on his good bargain, since according to them the pallium would have cost considerably more in Constantinople, Gerald reproaching himself for having defrauded the vendor, hastened to forward him the difference.⁹

Another anecdote deals with a band of highwaymen, who preyed upon both travelers and the inhabitants of the region. Gerald sent a troop of cavalry to capture the brigands. In carrying out his commands, they punished, along with the guilty men, a certain innocent farmer. It was some time before Gerald heard of the injustice; but he immediately sought out the innocent victim, who had fled into the province of Toulouse, and gave him a gift of one hundred *solidi* in recompense.¹⁰

And again, Odo tells us that, while on a journey, Gerald saw a woman ploughing a field. Stopping his horse, he asked her why she was attempting a man's work. She answered that her husband had been sick for a long time; and when the season for planting came, she had to do the work herself. Gerald, pitying her hard lot, gave her enough money to hire a man to do the work.¹¹

In the modern world these acts would be classified as humanitarian; they would be called the activities of a great social worker. But before the Protestant Upheaval, there was no divorce of religion from life, of social action from Catholic action. Christian charity, not humanitarianism, was the mainspring of work for others. Gerald helped his fellow man, not for any neo-paganistic notion of the worth of man as man, but because of man's great dignity as a son of God.

Depressed at the unchristian spirit of the world about him, Gerald desired to enter the religious life. Seeking the advice of Gausbert, bishop of Rodez, in whose diocese Aurillac was situated, he learned that it was his duty to remain in the world. Not able to become a monk, his simplicity of life, moderation, and chastity rivaled that of the monks. He refused to marry the sister of William the Pious of Aquitaine, despite the wishes of that power-

¹ Boissonnade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe*, 144.

² Migne, *P. L.*, CXXXIII, 658.

³ Marrier, *Bib. Clun.*, 66.

⁴ Pignot, *Histoire de L'Ordre de Cluny*, I, 155.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁶ Migne, *op. cit.*, 645.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 656.

⁸ Pignot, *op. cit.*, 153.

⁹ Migne, *op. cit.*, 658, given by Pirenne, in *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, 28.

¹⁰ Migne, *op. cit.*, 654.

¹¹ Migne, *op. cit.*, 656.

ful lord. When William tried to persuade him to the marriage, using as a motive the love of children, Gerald, considering the sad conditions of the contemporary world, replied, "It is better to die without children, than to leave behind an evil posterity."¹²

A work of lasting value was his foundation of the monastery of Aurillac. In the diploma of Charles the Simple confirming the establishment of the monastery, Gerald is spoken of as "ruler and founder" and the monastery is spoken of as "his monastery."¹³ St. Odo instilled the Cluniac spirit in this religious house in 930.¹⁴ Here it was that the great Gerbert, later Pope Sylvester II, received his education.¹⁵ Five letters of Gerbert to various abbots and monks of Aurillac are extant:¹⁶ in one he speaks of a certain monk Raymond as "his former teacher"; in another he refers to the monastery as "the threshold of the Blessed Gerald"; in another he speaks of the abbot as "his lord and father."

The lord of Aurillac, it seems, was a witness to the

¹² Migne, *op. cit.*, 662, Note.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 705; also in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. saec. V. 6.*

¹⁴ L. M. Smith, *History of the Monastery of Cluny*, 38.

¹⁵ Migne, *op. cit.*, CXXXIX, 57, "Gregorio V successit Gerbertus, natione Gallus, patria Quitanus, humili loco natus Auriliacensis monachus. . ."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 205-233, *passim*.

¹⁷ *Bibl. Clun.*, 3.

¹⁸ Migne, *op. cit.*, 708.

¹⁹ Pignot, *op. cit.*, 155.

founding charter of Cluny, given by William the Pious of Aquitaine in 910. The name of Gerald appears among the list of lay lords who signed the document.¹⁷ That it was the signature of Gerald of Aurillac cannot be said with certainty. The saintly nobleman died about this time, the exact date being unknown. It was certainly before 912 for in that year Adelard, Bishop of Clermont, who was present at Gerald's death, was succeeded by Bishop Arnold.¹⁸

This, in brief, is the life story of one of the greatest men of the Dark Ages; a man, whose life is a constant reminder of the perennial vigor of the Catholic Church. To conclude then, with the words of Pignot,

The spirit, oppressed by the complaints which the voice of pontiffs, councils, and historians has lifted up on all sides [concerning that unhappy age] rests with joy upon the person of this peace-making hero, this benefactor of humanity, who in the name of Christian meekness, battled against oppression, in the name of justice against violence, in the name of peace against war; who was outstanding for his respect for the poor and the weak, and who, in a word, is honored by a character ever worthy of the esteem of men.¹⁹

Primary sources: Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 133 and 139; Marrier, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis* (Paris, 1614); Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, saec. V.

Secondary works: Henri Pignot, *Histoire de L'Ordre de Cluny* (Paris, 1868); L. M. Smith, *The Monastery of Cluny* (Oxford, 1920); P. Boissonnade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe* (London, 1927); Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (London, 1936).

Nationalism: Heresy and Menace

Raymond Corrigan, S. J., Ph. D.

NATIONALISM was, or should have been, a topic of vital interest to historians a hundred years before Hitler was ever heard of. But with much of the poison and all the dynamic force of this relatively new madness concentrated in Nazi Germany's drive toward world dominion, even the layman who wants to understand the troubled present is likely to think historically.* A large element in the élan that carried the armies of Napoleon and the Revolution from one crashing triumph to another was the awakened spirit of the French nation. A large element in the stiffened resistance of Europe that proved Napoleon's nemesis was the spontaneous outburst of national feeling in Spain and the parallel rebirth of Prussia through a planned campaign of education and careful nursing of patriotic resentment. French success aroused widespread imitation of the originally French thing we call Nationalism. The burdens under which peoples groaned when the Revolutionary armies had passed provoked a desperate reaction. Regarded from any angle, the vigorous roots of Nationalism are imbedded in the Revolutionary era. In the realm of external fact as well as in the realm of emotional thinking the national state in Germany and in Italy owes much to Napoleon, son and heir of the Revolution.

Volumes have been written on Nationalism. A generation ago it was a sacred thing, and wholesale robberies could be committed in its name. More recently it has loomed before the chastened vision of Europe as the most potent of modern menaces, though it is essentially a degree or so less pagan, less diabolic than its more inhuman blood-brother, Communism. As a mere academic

exercise, one may trace it back to the aggressive policies of Philip the Fair and his court lawyers, or even to rivalries that helped to wreck the Crusades. One may also discuss the rise of the strong national monarchies. But the more practical view is that Nationalism "was born at the cannonading of Valmy." It was in the early stages of the French Revolution that *la nation* first claimed the supreme, if not exclusive loyalty of the citizen. And here we have the simplest and most satisfying definition of Nationalism. As a theory, a doctrine, a sentiment, a movement, a tendency, an attitude of mind, its essential note is that it places the nation highest in the hierarchy of values, a formula which, incidentally, may serve, with the change of a word, to define a number of isms.

In this utterly pagan heresy the nation, we are told, arrogates to itself the attributes of divinity, and sets itself in the place of God. This ultramodern idolatry is a clear violation of the first article of the Decalog: "Thou shalt not have strange gods before me." Falling down before the idol, its worshippers disown all competing loyalties. The nation admits no rival, no power above itself, no object of regard and affection on a par with itself. All the paraphernalia of religion must attend the new deity: Faith, hope and unselfish service, submission and sacrifice, dogmatic creed and elaborate ceremonial, a "savior" even. One might smile at the whole blasphemous travesty if it were not so tragic. Surely there is irony in this degradation of autonomous man, turning thus to fill the vacancy left when God was driven out of his progressively secularized civilization. Perhaps

it should surprise no one to see a duped world that has abandoned Christ fall down in abject adoration at the feet of a ranting Caesar.

The view here expressed may seem remote from the world of realities. In the older textbooks Nationalism appears as the vitalizing force which did for oppressed peoples what Liberalism did for individuals. It was the spirit that rose up against tyranny and threw off the yoke of foreign aggression. And in so far as it served the cause of freedom and called forth heroic effort it was in keeping with the dignity of men. But between the nation that refused to submit to virtual servitude and the bullying great power that would trample on the liberties of weaker states there is all the difference between the moral right of self-defense and brute might, between virtue and virtue exaggerated to the point of plain vice. Europe has seen Nationalism young and vigorous and comparatively innocent; for most of the world the name now stands for the instincts of a monster, half lion, half hog. The cub that all the neighbors liked has become a snarling brute prowling among the peaceful herd.

There may be some consolation in Dr. Anderson's assurance that few full-grown Nationalists are abroad. His distinction between the "character-nationalist" and the "situation-nationalist" is helpful for purposes of analysis and comparison. The Hitler type is born of a sense of personal insecurity, uncertainty, frustration. It is sensitive, emotional, dissatisfied, impetuous. Dreaming, ambitious, yet conscious of little achievement and fearing the waste of real or imagined talents, it seeks escape from cramping circumstances into a new world where it can feel at one with the strength of millions. Reason gives way to the primal emotions of the savage, of the child even. A real sympathy with the underdog masses lends a touch of nobility to this crusader for a perverted ideal. But there is also the Nationalist, in actual life never wholly free from these subjective notes, whose ideas, ideals and emotions are the outcome of a crisis, who is not so embittered against society, who hates the enemy alone, and who returns to normal thinking when the crisis is past. Typical of this kind was Neithardt von Gneisenau, the soldier who fought the battles of Prussia with arts learned from Napoleon. But like most others, Gneisenau fell short of the frenzy of complete Nationalism.

Nationalism has been defined as devotion to the nation in an intense degree. But the strength of its appeal lies not so much in any urge toward unselfish sacrifice of personal interests as in the satisfaction one feels in the overthrow of opposing forces. In eighteenth century France these forces were the absolute kingship, a privileged feudal caste and a semi-autonomous Church. All had to be leveled down to a common citizenship. Education, social welfare, charity and religion had to become common property. The citizen bowed before the majesty of the nation, alone, and he insisted that every other man should bow before it. He seems to have felt more joy in pulling down the mighty than in raising himself. When the national enemy was a power beyond the frontier, a deep sense of wrong was, in practically all instances, the main incentive to united action. But the sinews toughened in the struggle for freedom are not likely to lie idle when the victory is won. From Nationalism, even in the best

sense, it is a logical and perfectly natural step to Imperialism. To the extent to which the nation becomes an idol, right, justice and religion are ignored, and these are the essential safeguards without which Nationalism cannot remain reasonable or tolerably sane.

* The immediate inspiration behind these reflections we owe to a very readable volume, *Nationalism and the Cultural Crisis in Prussia, 1806-1815*, by Eugene Newton Anderson. New York. Farrar & Rinehart. 1939. pp. ix + 303. \$2.50. The body of the book is made up of seven studies based on the writings of as many German intellectuals. These writers take on a new interest from their remote connection with Herr Hitler, though each study can claim attention for the light it throws on much earlier developments. At the moment, however, we are chiefly concerned with the more general concept of Nationalism as ably analyzed by Dr. Anderson.

Medieval Vignettes

John F. Bannon, S. J., Ph. D.

Monasticism

Few human institutions have had a greater share in the formation of Western civilization than monasticism. During the long centuries of the early Middle Ages, when out of a strange mixture of antique, Christian, and barbarian elements that civilization was slowly evolving, it was the monks of the West who were hurrying the process. Between the three elements of the new culture monasticism formed the connecting link. It was the monks who preserved and passed on to the West the heritage of classical learning. It was the monks who kept alive through centuries of barbarism and anarchy the glowing flame of the Christian ideal and kept open the lines of contact between head and members, between Rome and the churches. Again it was the monks who brought to the barbarian masses of the countryside, the *pagani*, the message of the Gospel and, after converting them, taught them the ways and arts of civilization.

Though oriental in origin, monasticism was imported into the West at an early date. By the middle of the fifth century the Fathers of the Desert, the cenobitic communities of the Pachomian and the Basilian types, the anchorites of Syria, all had imitators in Gaul, Italy, and Ireland. The first monastery in the West was that of Ligugé, near Poitiers, founded in 361 by St. Martin of Tours. This saint's next foundation, at Marmoutier, became the prototype of the early Gallic houses, of which Lérins and St. Victor of Marseilles were the most famous.

It was from Lérins that the movement spread to South Wales, through western Britain, and back to Brittany on the continent. It was to Lérins that Patrick, escaping from slavery in Ireland, came to fit himself to be the apostle of the land of his bondage and the founder of Irish monasticism. Soon this Irish daughter of Lérins surpassed all the others in fame and influence.

For two centuries after Patrick's death, in 461, the monastic church of Ireland, in its great abbeys of Clonard, Clonmacnois, Bangor, and a hundred others, was a center of learning and culture whose influence radiated over the whole of the new Barbaro-Christian West. Its missionaries carried the faith and monastic learning far and wide. St. Columba evangelized Scotland and founded Iona. St. Aidan brought the faith to Northumbria and left Lindisfarne to carry on his tradition. St. Columbanus traversed the Frankish domain, dotting it with monasteries, as

Luxeuil and Bobbio, which during the succeeding centuries were to be cradles of apostles and hearths of learning. St. Gall, companion of Columbanus, gave the West the abbey which came to bear his name and which surpassed all the others in its cultural importance.

But, while Celtic monasticism was making its notable contributions, in Italy monastic forces were preparing a still greater and even more effective organ of civilization. In the first half of the sixth century Benedict of Nursia, at Monte Cassino, was writing his famous Rule and putting the stamp of Latin genius on the monastic institution. And at Vivarium, Cassiodorus was gathering his library of the ancient classics and drawing up the first program of monastic studies. The ideals of these two men, "the school of the Lord's service" of Benedict and the monastic educational concept of Cassiodorus, were soon to fuse into one and, backed by the Papacy, Benedictine monasticism was ready for its mission of organizing the West.

Monasticism in its new and typically Roman form spread to the north in the late years of the sixth century. Gregory the Great, the first Benedictine Pope, in 597, sent a band of his fellow-monks under Augustine to convert England. Within a hundred years the monks had evangelized the island and prepared it to become in the eighth century successor to Ireland as the center of Christian culture unrivalled in the West, a culture which would boast of a Bede and lend to Gaul the light of the Carolingian Renaissance, Alcuin of York. And like the Celts before them the Anglo-Saxon abbeys sent forth their apostles. The labors of a Willibrod among the Frisians and, greatest of all, a Boniface of Crediton, apostle of Germany and reorganizer of the Frankish Church, bespeak the power of this new monastic force. During the centuries of stress and strain, which followed the break-up of Charlemagne's premature unity, it was the Benedictines—in their abbeys of Wearmouth, Jarrow, Reichenau, Fulda, Cluny—who silently carried on the Roman-Christian tradition until the day when the West was strong enough to take it up and fashion that civilization which it calls its own.

Gregory the Great

Strangely enough some of the greatest figures of history have been little men. Pope Gregory the First was a little man and history has given him the title "the Great" and ranked him prominently among the founders of the Middle Ages and of Western civilization. This little man, of patrician rank, one-time Prefect of Rome, humble monk, adroit diplomat, successor of St. Peter, who loved to call himself *servus servorum Dei*, stands out as one of the most forceful figures of his age, justifying in full measure history's verdict. He it was who raised the Papacy to that position of eminence and influence which was to mean so much for the age which was dawning. He it was who proved that Peter held not only the Keys to the Kingdom of Heaven but the key to the New West as well.

In connection with Gregory it is important to note two lines of development which in his time began to affect the Papacy. The first is in matter of the temporal power, though the roots of this go back almost three full centuries. When Constantine determined to move the seat

of his empire from the Eternal City to the shores of the Bosphorus, unwittingly he was leaving Rome to a greater power, whose sway in time would be more all-embracing, whose influence deeper, whose mark more lasting than that of the Caesars. Spiritual at first, the domination of that new Roman power gradually was turned by force of circumstances into the domain of the temporal. When Gregory ascended the papal throne, in 590, the Roman Pontiff, like many another bishop of that troubled age, was looked upon, and was in reality, not only the pastor of his church but lord of his city as well.

This had long been the case in Rome. During Gregory's pontificate the Pope, for all practical purposes, became the ruler of Italy also. It was he who faced the plundering Lombards and concluded a truce, when the indolent exarch dared not move from the safety of his palace at Ravenna; it was Gregory who by his wise administration of the patrimony of the Holy See was able to relieve the distress of the Roman population, a task which the Emperors no longer performed; Gregory became at one and the same time father of their souls and preserver of their bodies. Thus grew up in his time the temporal power of the Papacy, a pressing burden unsought but accepted when law and order demanded.

The second development of the Papacy under Gregory, far more important than the first, was the extension of its effective influence over the universal church. With humility and yet with strength and determination Gregory brought the several churches of the West more directly under papal jurisdiction in matters administrative. He curbed the pretensions of the patriarch of Constantinople, received the Arian Visigoths of Spain into the Roman communion and guided them in their early steps along the path of orthodoxy, watched lovingly and firmly over the Frankish Church, fostering reform, remonstrating against the growing Caesarism of the Merovingians, asserted his rights against Emperors, in a word turned the eyes of all Christendom towards Rome. More than that, during his time, out of Rome went forth the mission to England and to other peoples of the north, to bind those nations to the center and fountainhead of unity. To the Church he gave a common liturgy and an ecclesiastical music which still bears his name. Possibly a still greater contribution to the Papacy and to the West was the support which he gave to and the use which he made of the young monastic foundation of Benedict of Nursia.

In the intellectual field his contributions to the West were many. Beside Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, he takes his rightful rank among the Latin Fathers—in some sense more a father than all the rest. His *Regula Pastoralis*, his commentaries on the Old Testament, his *Dialogues*, were to have a far-reaching influence on the thought of medieval times. He was not an elegant stylist as Jerome was, nor a subtle theologian like Augustine, but he was, and that in an eminent degree, a writer whom the less cultured and less finely trained mind—many of those in the early Middle Ages would be such—could understand and appreciate.

After Gregory the West begins to look to the Papacy for inspiration and guidance. That is one of the characteristics of the new world which was in the making, and that is Gregory's contribution to that new world.

Japan Looks Back

(Continued from page 86)

scientific accuracy, which are far superior to similar Japanese works extant at that time." And he concludes the article by saying that the works of the mission press "are of the greatest value to modern scholars as a treasure of historical materials for the study of the development of our language, and in this respect they have great significance also for the future."¹⁰

Besides the valuable contributions of the mission history to Japanese profane history and to the history of the language, there are still other sciences which have been likewise more or less deeply influenced by the activities of the missionaries. A promising field for further research in this line would be the development of medical studies, since the early Jesuits also founded a college for the study of external and internal medicine. The method of making medicines, such as plasters and ointments, was written down and left in various records. Other studies could profitably be made with regard to the changes wrought by the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries in the economic and social conditions of the time, and to the influence of the Jesuits on Japanese paintings during that period, although it should always be remembered that most of the salient facts on these topics are still buried in the past.

Having shown the importance of the Christian mission and its history for modern historical studies in Japan, a last remark may be made about the favorable outlook for the enrichment of the mission history itself. And this is due in large measure to the friendly cooperation between Japanese and European historians. Japanese scholars have free access to the comparatively rich sources written in Japanese which must remain almost unexplorable gold mines for every non-Japanese, due to the stupendous language barrier. The mere physical difficulties of paleography are so great that it is only at an immense cost of time and energy that a foreign student can hope to do successful original work in these fields. On the other hand, a knowledge of this Japanese material will be very helpful towards obtaining a proper understanding of the backgrounds of the mission work, and it is absolutely necessary in order to come to a more objective judgment of such things as the rise and decline of the mission, the mission methods, their fitness, success, and 'failure'. The mission history of Japan is one of the very few historical topics which enjoy the fortunate position of being supplemented and completed by contemporary writings. Most of them are from the pens of adversaries, some even from officials of the Government. Had these sources been known earlier, many false judgments, made even by historians and missiologists of great reputation, would have been avoided. From this point of view, Japanese mission history has received a new impetus. The better collaboration and coordination of research work, which is intended in the foundation of the above mentioned Institute at the Catholic University in Tōkyō, will result in a more complete knowledge of the historical facts and pro-

vide new material for the science of missiology. An annual yearbook in Japanese of this Institute will certainly help to arouse interest among Japanese readers in both History and the Catholic Church. And the *Monumenta Nipponica*¹¹ makes it one of its special features to make known to American and European readers the results of this research work by making accessible original documents from both Japanese and European archives.

Many recent and much used books in historical method give no attention whatever to the factor of causation in history. This is indeed strange, since causation is one of the fundamental principles, one of the necessary processes, which the student must go through if he is to grasp the full significance of any historical fact. History teaching that emphasizes the tracing of causal relations is not only good from the standpoint of history, but it is also valuable and instructive from the standpoint of education. Mere listing of the causes of any historical event, however, is not of much value. The pupil must see how the various factors enumerated acted as causes, that is, how they affected the lives, thoughts, desires, or interests of the people of the time. Vividness can be heightened if the pupil projects himself into the situations in which the various classes of individuals found themselves. History is an organic whole and cannot be studied and analyzed completely in the form of political history, or economic history, or under any other restricted consideration. Fundamental causes must be distinguished from secondary or particular causes; in a study of the causes of the Civil War, for example, slavery must be distinguished from the firing on Fort Sumter, as being the more fundamental cause. If the pupil really visualizes and masters the process of causation in history, his interpretation of historical data will be more mature. (Bernard J. Kohlbrenner, "Teaching Causation in History," *Social Studies*, April, 1937.)

Book Reviews

France and Latin-American Independence, by William Spence Robertson. Baltimore. Johns Hopkins Press. 1939. pp. xv + 626. \$3.75.

This volume, which contains the essence of the Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History for 1939, is a marked contribution to both international relations generally, and to Hispanic American history in particular. To date, very much has been written on Spanish and Portuguese influence in the Latin-American countries. A great deal has been done on the relations of our nation with our southern neighbors. A considerable amount of research has been directed towards the evaluation of England's position in regard to the nations of Central and South America. But not so much effort has been expended in determining the influence of France.

As Professor Robertson ably points out, Latin America figured largely in French imperialistic and economic designs. Though the first may have been the more spectacular, the latter was to prove the more important. On the whole, France played a surprisingly large part in southern Western Hemisphere affairs of a political, economic, and even religious nature. As to this last, though the author does hardly more than hint at it, the pressure which the Bonaparts tried to bring upon the hierarchy of Latin America in order to make them and their religious charges more liable to accept French imperialism presents an interesting phase in international politics. Needless to say, the volume is authoritative. It is packed with information. A special feature of the book is a very extensive bibliography in which only an expert would notice omissions.

MARTIN HASTING.

¹⁰ Tadao Doi, "Das Sprachstudium der Gesellschaft Jesu in Japan im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert." In *Monumenta Nipponica II* (1939), pp. 453 and 465.

¹¹ *Monumenta Nipponica, Studies on Japanese Culture, Past and Present*. Sophia University, Tōkyō. Semi-annual.

An Introduction to World Economic History Since The Great War, by J. P. Day. London. Macmillan. 1940. pp. xi + 161. \$1.15.

The World War of 1914 has been frequently referred to as the principal cause of most of the economic phenomena that have occurred during the past score of years. In this book we have a remarkably successful attempt to analyze these effects as they exist in themselves, with no close attention paid to their origins. The study is introduced by a consideration of the obvious effects of the war on post-Versailles world economy—the rearrangement of employment caused by the losses in casualties and the return to peacetime pursuits; the mutual distrust of temporarily pacified European states; and, most significantly for Professor Day's viewpoint, the legacy of debt—, but the greater part has to do with the crises in world trade and finance, together with a discussion of the socialistic and capitalistic solutions of these difficulties. In this latter the author exhibits penetrating discernment and balanced interpretation, especially in the element he particularly reviews, the price level. Of course, the nature of the work does not permit an exhaustive study of any one subject, but many problems are indicated, and the more important of these are dealt with in a scholarly manner.

JAMES HANLEY.

Foreigners in the Confederacy, by Ella Lonn. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1940. pp. xiv + 568. \$5.00.

The fallacious assumption that the armies of the Confederacy were composed wholly of pure Anglo-Saxons is exploded in this book, at once scholarly and popular. The author proves that an astonishing number of foreigners from almost every nation of the world was enlisted in the ranks of Dixie. The official records from which Professor Lonn drew her material list Danes, Swedes, Russians, Poles, Swiss, Irish, French, Italians, Germans, Jews, Turkish Zouaves, some even from such places as the Island of Malta and far off China. And of course, the enumeration is cut short for the sake of brevity.

The author punctuates the more serious chapters of the book and the horrors of the war with highly entertaining anecdotes, such for example, as the lieutenant who perambulated with an umbrella to protect his corpulent body from the blistering semitropical sun; the Irishman who marched a captive wounded Hibernian back from the battlefield, belaboring him at every step for fighting on the "wrong" side.

Foreigners in the Confederacy is far too much like a storybook to be used as a text, but it certainly deserves recognition as a book of reference in any American History course. Its facile and engaging style, its humorous vein, its wealth of information, together with its scholarly research and capable composition make it a very readable study of the cosmopolitan organization of the forces below the Mason-Dixon line.

EUGENE F. GALLAGHER.

Science and Politics in the Ancient World, by Benjamin Farrington. New York. Oxford University Press. 1940. pp. 243. \$2.50.

Here we have a concoction of old truth, half-truth, and falsehood dedicated to the proposition that the march of science was blocked by oligarchies, whose chief concern was to prevent the dissemination of science among the masses, and whose chief device was the imposition of false religions to preserve the *status quo*.

The author proceeds with an artist's care for symmetry, if not the historian's care for accuracy. An introductory study portrays Ernest Haeckel as a scientist-hero daring to fight for the social implications of Darwinism as applied to man. Then Anaximander is set over against Cosmas Indicopleustes—taken as representative of the sixth century A. D.—and Empedocles against Prudentius, and lo! the flourishing Ionian science stands out in contrast with the black superstition and "grossness of . . . credulity" found a thousand years later.

This decline in science is due to the interference of oligarchies. Theognis, Pindar, Isocrates, and Plato are aligned with oligarchy, holding that it is proper to deceive the masses by means of false religions. Epicurus is hailed as the savior, who dared to preach again the study of the Nature of Things as the remedy for the ills of mankind. In Rome, where Epicureanism was persecuted by the same oligarchic interests, Lucretius led the attack on superstition.

In the estimates of all these men there is of course some truth—no writer could avoid the truth for 243 pages. But what we

cannot forgive in Mr. Farrington is his "convenient" selection of material, and his abysmal ignorance or malice in classing Christianity as one of so many false religions. Overlooking Aristotle's scientific achievement and his sound philosophy, Farrington finds in Leucippus and Democritus the peak of achievement before Epicurus. With puerile arguments he defends Epicurus' atomic swerve as the needed explanation of "free will" and Epicurus' arguments for the mortality of the soul, ". . . as securely based on physiological evidence (!!!) as the Platonic view of its immortality is, insecurely, on mathematics."

His master-stroke at the end of the book contrasts Christianity with Epicureanism: ". . . it was innocent of all knowledge of natural philosophy or of the true course of human history. It marched to battle under the inspiration of a new oracle, the Hebrew Scriptures, with no understanding of the element of human error and the element of human imposture they contain. Its own new scriptures, with their fresh share of errors and impostures, were soon accorded a like reverence. The sense of the necessity of true knowledge of nature and of history for man's guidance of his destiny had been lost. It was to be a millennium before men were again to realize that the human head, which produced them, is worth more than all the bibles and all the creeds."

This book is especially disappointing because a scholarly, well-balanced work on the influence of science in the ancient world would be a great help in the study of classical history and civilization. The author shows no grasp of philosophical problems involved in his discussion. This reviewer would challenge also his "physiological evidence," and many of his lemmas from anthropology, the history of religion, and the history of philosophy. Life is too short to be spent on such books.

WILLIAM A. VAN ROO.

The History of the Woman's Peace Party, by Marie Louise Degen. Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press. 1939. pp. 266. \$2.75.

The reviewer can dispose of this book in a sentence. It is a scholarly presentation of an interesting and important movement. The movement itself is not so easily handled. Its purpose is peace, peace, it seems, at any price. Its ideals are humanitarian, and consequently noble, though not noble enough. The strength and weakness of its feminine philosophy may be left to the reader's kind interpretation. Among its leaders are a few women whom we have to admire and a number of others who make likely subjects for the cartoonist's pencil. But it took courage to be "Pacifists in War Time," however much we may suspect the motives of publicity-seeking "Peacettes" who in happier days had been militant suffragettes.

The story parallels the course of the World War, ending with some disillusionment in the futile League of Nations. Agitation, organization, speech-making, propaganda and political pressure kept the women busy, loyal to their convictions and at times heroic. Elderly spinsters sang: "I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier." Women "whose hearts were so large that many people have mistaken them for heads, . . . women, of whom the most prominent were childless, were lined up together and photographed as 'mothers of men' and no one saw the absurdity of it all." Theodore Roosevelt was, perhaps, too severe in his caustic snarling, but he had a good case when he argued for right and justice against the "moral duty" of Pacifists "to respect the sacredness of human life, a duty . . . paramount to all others."

One need not be a misogynist to dislike gynocratic theories. There is a way in which women may rule the world. Surely they are instruments of God to make it a brighter place to live in. The Woman's Peace Party prayed behind closed doors, but there was altogether too little thought of God when they talked to the Godless outside world. Miss Degen leans heavily upon Jane Addams, and on the whole her attitude is quite sane.

R. CORRIGAN.

International Security, by Eduard Beneš, Arthur Feiler, and Rushton Coulborn. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1939. pp. 154. \$2.00.

The offering of the Harris Foundation for the summer of 1939 is of particular interest and timeliness. The five lectures present a sane and authentic insight into modern world problems, the three contributing authors being eminently qualified for their work: Eduard Beneš, the former president of Czechoslovakia, a prominent figure for the past generation at Geneva and a statesman of the first order, delivering the first three; Arthur Feiler, former leading economic writer of the "Frankfurter Zeitung," an associate of and collaborator with the German delegation at

Versailles, and at present member of the graduate staff of the New School for Social Reform, delivering the fourth; and Rush-ton Coulborn, a former English professor of history, and at present chairman of the history department of Atlanta University, delivering the fifth and final lecture.

Dr. Beneš, as is to be expected, headlines the contributors, though only in name; hardly in original and enlightening contribution. His three lectures, however, provide a perspective for a better understanding of the events of recent months. He treats particularly with problems of security which came to the fore in the negotiations over the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the Geneva Protocol, and especially the Locarno Treaties. His intimate association with European politics for more than a generation renders him exceptionally competent to deal with these topics, and he provides not a few (but none startling or unknown) angles on the consistencies and inconsistencies of the Great Powers' policy—which policy, though he does not say so, has not changed either in substance, magnanimity or sincerity since the days of Westphalia. His conclusions seem quite wishful. "The last World War has as one of its greatest achievements the liberation of small nations in the name of democracy. Democracy will again revive in Europe. . . . I am rather inclined to believe that the present crisis and chaos will last but a few years. . . . Czechoslovakia will be restored, and her independence and security will be more assured, in a Europe more democratic and free, more honest and more faithful."

"Farewell to Security: Germany and the World, 1919-1939"—Dr. Feiler's lecture, is one of the finest pieces of clear thinking and convincing statement we have had the pleasure of reading. Though not desirous of denying the German share in the responsibility for the sad developments of the period immediately following the World War, "it must be stated nevertheless that for that period the main responsibility for the ultimate breakdown of any security rests with the victors. France especially—the France of Clemenceau and Poincaré—wanted at that time not collective security but only security for herself." At present, however, Europe, and perhaps the world, has entered upon the stage of complete totalitarian insecurity. Hitler's great fear is of losing his present godlike position; his aspirations are to power and expansion. "For these he is ready to pay any price, to take all chances, to run all risks." But Hitler and his associates are not the true Germany, which today is invisible, yet survives "in the hearts of nameless men and women who have not surrendered to the barbarism of their present rulers."

The final lecture, that of Professor Coulborn—"A Farewell to Leadership: Britain and the World, 1919-1939" seems to be an Englishman's candid admission of the procastination and blunders of British political leaders from the close of the World War until today. Exceptionally depreciatory is his estimate of Sir Neville Chamberlain. The "Pax Britannica," upon which Western society rested practically from the days of Waterloo until 1914, and which for that century prevented effectively world war, is no longer possible of achievement by Britain alone. It must not only be supplemented by a "Pax Americana," but the United States must now assume world-leadership.

P. J. HOLLORAN.

The Development of Social Thought, by Emory Bogardus.

New York. Longmans, Green. 1940. pp. 564. \$3.50.

The history of social thought has during recent years taken a distinct place in the scheme of social studies. With the appearance of parallel treatises by Sorokin, Beach, Ellwood, and Barnes and Becker, the history of social thought can be satisfactorily distinguished from histories of economic and political thought. The lines of demarcation between histories of philosophy and histories of sociological thought remain obscure, though Bogardus attempts one small chapter on the development of sociological thought. For Bogardus, social thought would stress, "the advancement of human groups as groups"; sociological thought should stress, "the analysis of the meanings to persons of social experiences and the stating of laws and the description of processes that underlie and explain all social life."

The work is to be used as a text in social theory. The scope of treatment is extensive and thorough, the fruit of the author's long years in social teaching and research. Embracing, as it does, early Oriental, African, Egyptian, Babylonian, Indian, Persian, Chinese, Japanese, Jewish, Grecian, Roman, Christian, Medieval and Modern social thought, the dimensions approach the encyclopedic. Chapters are built for the most part around leaders of these periods; lesser lights are treated with coherence and proportion. Especially to be admired are the amount of color and the effort toward historical impartiality. Vividness and reality of material make for a valuable contribution to the classroom.

Perhaps, there is unconscious partiality towards modern materialism. Speaking of Sumner, "Sumner deduced an important principle when he asserted that the *"mores can make anything right."* . . . his description of these societal phenomena constitutes a unique and valuable contribution to social thought. . . . He rested his theories on the inexorable work of the laws of biological evolution, modified chiefly by his belief in strong individualism." Such evaluations appear in spite of the commendable effort at impartiality.

One might wish for further enlightenment on the distinction between social thought and sociological thought. Bogardus is aware that there are too many *sociologies* for a history of *sociology*. As Catholics we know that there are too many sociologies just because there are too many philosophies and not enough philosophy. We are also aware that philosophies are not separated from sociologies, and certainly not from social thought, even by Bogardus. However, we shall have to consider such texts for advanced courses in social theory, until we have scholars in the social sciences who are able to do better.

WM. G. DOWNING.

Austria (October 1918-March 1919), by David F. Strong.

New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. 329. \$4.00.

Austria belongs to history. The chequered story of the Hapsburgs has apparently come to a sad ending. Yet who knows what may evolve out of the troubled conditions along the Danube? We should like to have a full-length narrative of the old ramshackle empire. But the sub-title of this book promises only a rather detailed analysis of six short months of a period when the fate of Austria was in the hands of more or less benevolent foreigners. The Hapsburgs do not appear in the index. Hitler is still far in the future. We have here merely a discussion, scholarly enough to be sure, of the political, social and economic problems which immediately followed the World War. This contribution to nearly contemporary history merits a place in our larger libraries. For the reviewer, the commented bibliography is not the least valuable part of the book. Others will probably most admire the effort of the author to steer his course among obviously biased sources.

R. CORRIGAN.

Accompaniments for Chants in the Catholic Music Hour and the Gregorian Chant Manual, by Peter H. Schaeffers.

New York. Silver Burdett. 1939. pp. ix + 193. \$1.32.

This booklet, indispensable to any liturgically-minded organist or teacher, has much to recommend it. The Gregorian melodies retain their perfect homophonic sequence and modality of character by reason of the intelligent and carefully arranged accompaniment.

Four striking points are characteristic of this book: the accompaniment is simple, and in strict harmony with the Gregorian spirit; the modality is not sacrificed; the spontaneity and suppleness of the simple Gregorian progressions is preserved; and most important of all, the Gregorian rhythm is retained. This is accomplished admirably by the correct position of the quarter notes in the bass.

Finally, the judicious selection of hymns should more than relieve the anxiety of any organist whose endeavor is to conform as nearly as possible with the *Motu Proprio*. The accompaniment is quite suitable for interludes during the various seasons throughout the ecclesiastical year.

ROSARIO R. MAZZA.

Three Copernican Treatises, translated by Edward Rosen.

New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. x + 211. \$3.00.

Nicholas Copernicus, one of the great figures of the scientific movement in the learned world of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was the first to defend successfully the heliocentric system in astronomy. He adhered to the doctrine of the spheres as did Ptolemy and Aristotle, but for him the sun, and not the earth, was the center of the moving spheres or circles to which the heavenly bodies were attached. It was Kepler who first established the motion of the planets in elliptical orbits, giving us the heliocentric system as we know it today.

Mr. Rosen's book contains the translation of two treatises written by Copernicus himself. His first, the *Commentariolus*, explains in brief his new hypothesis, the second, *The Letter Against Werner*, is a defense of Ptolemy's accuracy as an astronomer and mathematician. The third is a translation of the

Narratio Prima written by Rheticus, a disciple of Copernicus. It presents a tactful explanation of Copernicus' doctrines with a view to preparing the world for accepting Copernicus' teachings.

The book is well annotated and contains good textual criticism and explanations by diagram of the more abstruse explanations or calculations of Copernicus and Rheticus.

The introduction gives a brief explanation of the astronomy involved in the treatises translated. Although the author aims at simplicity and clarity, the exposition is rather technical and presupposes at least some previous knowledge of the technical side of astronomy.

LAWRENCE W. FRIEDRICH.

The Course of American Democratic Thought, by Ralph Henry Gabriel. New York. Ronald Press. 1940. pp. xi + 452. \$4.00.

The title of this book is non-committal. The author endeavors to preserve a sort of benevolent neutrality toward the men, movements and isms which form the subject matter of his thirty-one chapters. Nor is it his fault that the course of American Democracy has been, for the most part, downhill. The once vital fighting spirit of democracy has steadily decayed, the while its external manifestations grew more florid and more bloated. There is still a lot of good sense in the American people. And fortunately, the country is big enough to absorb a great deal of poison. But in so far as our "Intellectuals" are symptomatic of actual conditions, the foremost "democracy" of all time is not altogether healthy. We need not blame the author, who after all is merely putting before us a readable synthesis of his own readings. We suspect that he is fairly well satisfied with the whole picture. And it is sad to think that so many will agree with him.

Emancipation, expansion, mass-production and money-making have been great social levellers, and consequently have exercised an influence in the direction of democracy. But the democratic faith belongs essentially to the realm of the spirit; more specifically, it is bound up with religion. Professor Gabriel's survey shows us religion, distorted but real, gradually supplanted by freak philosophies and material interests. One point seems to be clear. It is time to scrap a heap of fads and to turn back to the recovery of comparative sanity. Americans of an earlier date upheld the moral law, the freedom of the individual and a sense of responsibility. The prophets of the blasé present regard these as illusions. The author does not condemn error in any form; he merely sets it forth as thought.

It will surprise the reader to find Jefferson, Jackson and John Locke receiving little more than a casual mention in a work on American Democracy. The author is fully aware of their importance. But for him Walt Whitman, Emerson, Ingersoll and several others seem to hold a greater interest. In this at least, we have a book that is different and, as a stimulus to further study, well worth reading. But, most emphatically, we don't like the lazy habit of stowing away the footnotes somewhere at the end of the text.

R. CORRIGAN.

George Washington, by Nathaniel Wright Stephenson and Waldo Hilary Dunn. New York. Oxford University Press. 1940. 2 vols. x + 473 and vii + 596. \$10.00.

Anyone who attempts a new life of Washington is laying himself open to an attack from historians, societies of various kinds, and even the run of the mill American. We all have our own ideas about the Father of our Country and we are unwilling to allow much tampering with them. This new life will not have the good fortune to escape criticism. The present reviewer takes exception to a number of points, but it should first be stated, that the work is at least satisfactory. We think that the second volume is better than the first. Dunn's original work is superior to his attempted revision of what he inherited in manuscript from Stephenson.

In the first volume, we feel that there is too much emphasis on the theory that Washington was an imperialist. To say that the Washington family was imperialistic from the beginning and to maintain that the family tradition found full flower in George is pushing a theory too hard. It is perhaps much more accurate to hold that the Washingtons sought land because the soil was the basic source of wealth. To attribute Washington's failure at Fort Mifflin to a broad imperialistic vision, seems unnecessary. Why not accept the more logical explanation that the young Washington was an inexperienced general and lost because of that fact? We may add that there is too much stress, in the first volume, on the psychological feature of Washington's char-

acter which the authors chose to call "the element of the berserk." Also, the authors have a liking for certain phrases which they frequently repeat, e. g. "brown days of October." There is one excellent feature of the first volume which should be noted. The analysis of Washington in the period preparatory to the Revolution is very good.

Historians will be particularly pleased with the clear treatment of the Conway Cabal in the second volume. The chapters on the military activities of the war could be improved. We admit that in the preface it was stated that the work had as a purpose the study of Washington, but we think that too much of the psychological enters into this section.

The chapters on domestic and foreign affairs during the two administrations of the First President are good, but no better than many another study of the same period and person. A few new touches have been added here and there which are unimportant except in that they give, at times, a better understanding of certain incidents. It is not out of place to mention that whenever Dunn, the English scholar, writes word pictures of family life, descriptions of travel, or intimate little touches, he is at his best.

In general, this is as satisfactory a life of Washington as has been presented. The facts are there in orderly array, a little colored at times perhaps, but not badly. The two volumes are not smoothly written. Too much attention is given to refuting Rupert Hughes, who doesn't deserve the notice given him or his book. Let no historian think that he can write the definitive life of Washington. Americans won't stand for it.

J. P. DONNELLY.

The World since 1914, by Walter Consuelo Langsam. 4th edition. New York. Macmillan. 1940. pp. xvii + 1024. \$3.75.

The first edition of *The World since 1914* appeared seven years ago. This fourth edition carries the story down to September, 1939. The reviewer has a vague recollection of having commented upon the book (or some similar work) before. The author has succeeded in doing what, apparently, he set out to do. He has given us a useful survey of politics, internal and international. Whether or not this will justify his title is more than doubtful. And here lies the chief grievance of the reviewer. The author is so close to the scenes he describes that proper perspective is impossible. He hears only the big noises, or like a man viewing the sky-line of a city, he sees only the big buildings. Religion and the Church, for example, get little notice beyond what is needed to clarify Mussolini's Italian achievement. On the Spanish struggle we are offered a fairly good digest of the story so badly mishandled by the American and British press. Fortunately for the sale of the book few will share our dislike of current events masquerading as history. A valuable section, particularly in a book of this type, is the commented bibliography of seventy-two pages.

R. CORRIGAN.

The International Law of John Marshall, by Benjamin Munn Ziegler. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1939. pp. xii + 386. \$3.50.

This book immediately gives the reader the impression of being a scholar's product. The author has carefully combed through the decisions of John Marshall which touch on international relations, and from them has reconstructed what he calls the *International Law of John Marshall*. As a collection of these decisions, the book is worth having. The author has certainly omitted no case which has any bearing on his subject and he has given good background material for most of the cases, a fact which will be appreciated by his readers since that type of information is most difficult to find in detail. But as a study of John Marshall's connection with international law, we think the book is not outstanding, not so much because the author is not capable, but because the subject of the work, John Marshall, was not a lawyer of note.

No well-informed historian of Marshall would call him a great legalist. He had no theory of law. He was not a student of his profession, nor did he ever pretend to be. He used his associates to work up his decisions. Once they had given him a review of previous legislation, or a digest of the opinions of great legalists, Marshall rendered a decision. As Ziegler points out, Marshall's opinions show him to have been "at first a Positivist, then a Naturalist, and finally a Grotian," which to us appears but another way of declaring that the great Chief Justice was a Utilitarian. Yet Marshall did have an influence on international law, chiefly concerning the concept of neutrality. This is not a great study, but it is a very useful one.

J. P. DONNELLY.

We Who Built America, by Carl Wittke. New York. Prentice-Hall. 1940. pp. 547. \$5.00.

Carl Wittke's study of the immigrant influence on the American scene bears a title which, though it may irk those who offer incense at the New England shrine, both fits the book and in itself suggests a great deal of American history. No doubt many like to feel that America's coat of arms should be that which Freeman would have placed on the walls of every home in which the English tongue is spoken. However, the "Anglo-Saxon militant, the Teuton rampant and the Aryan eternally supreme," which Freeman desired, is far from the proper coat of arms for America, a nation built by many races.

The greater portion of Wittke's book is devoted to the immigration after the Colonial Period. The author gives quite some space to explaining why certain peoples came at stated periods and why they gravitated to various sections of their new country. We think he does his best writing about the Germans, whom, perhaps, he understood best. We gather that he believes that the Germans were the best immigrants because they came so well prepared to make homes. His chapters on the Irish, particularly those who came during what the author terms "The Old Immigration," present a good picture of the sad exploitation of that race by their own Irish politicians.

The third portion of the book, "The New Immigration and Nativism," presents a fine study of what the later immigrants sought to escape as well as of what they suffered in America. There are good analyses of the immigrant contribution to our culture as well as to our material advancement. This is the kind of book students of American history cannot afford to overlook.

J. P. DONNELLY.

A Short History of Science, by W. T. Sedgwick and H. W. Tyler, revised by H. W. Tyler and R. P. Bigelow. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. xxii + 512. \$3.75.

This book, designed as a survey of the history of science for undergraduates at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has many excellent features to recommend it. The discoveries of the leading scientists are briefly set forth with the help of frequent diagrams and illustrations; the language is clear, concise and technical; the text is attractively arranged. A valuable chronological chart, extensive bibliography and good index close the volume. In any library it can prove a valuable reference work.

However, we have a right to expect more than just a factual summary of scientific achievements from a work called a *history* of science. The authors themselves seem to have realized this, for in the preface they set forth their aims: 1) To show the continuity of scientific development, 2) to correlate the history of science with general history. But the mere chronological arrangement of thumbnail sketches is a most superficial analysis of development. Moreover, their "general history" is more often fiction than fact.

There are many of the usual misconceptions. A first chapter on the "Dawn of Civilization" contains much of the usual guesswork; the "Dark Ages" are again the ages of the shackled mind; the "New Revelation" dawns again in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the Renaissance and Reformation. In fine, much of the general history included here itself belongs to the "Dark Ages" of historical writing which supposedly was ended some twenty years ago, but which still lingers on in all too many nooks and crannies. We feel sure that if some of the books listed in the bibliography, Thorndike, Haskins and Sarton for example, had been more carefully pondered, the author would have betrayed less "medieval" narrowness.

R. L. PORTER.

A Diplomatic History of the American People, by Thomas A. Bailey. New York. F. S. Crofts. 1940. pp. xxiv + 806. \$4.25.

Professor Bailey has been teaching the diplomatic history of the United States at Stanford University for many years; his experience has amply fitted him to write this book, and the book itself is sufficient evidence of his mastery of the field of American diplomacy. The book is a departure from the usual presentation of the subject. As the title indicates, this is the diplomatic history of the American people. Herein we become acquainted with the part the nation actually played in diplomacy. We are all aware of the fact that the Secretary of State and the diplomatic corps are intimately concerned with international relations. Their side of the story has been adequately treated by Samuel Flagg Bemis, John Holladay Latané, and other diplomatic historians in their respective works. Professor Bailey presents the

influence of, and the part played by, the American people. Their voice was mainly the vote and the printed word; and it was a powerful voice, heard and listened to with respect by the party in office, and by the two houses of Congress. At least such was the case until recent years; then the tables were reversed, and the newspapers and periodicals instead of mirroring public opinion, began effectively to shape and dictate it.

This treatment of American diplomacy will be welcomed by college and university professors of American history. It is an agreeable change from the difficult style, unsatisfactory organization, and opinionatedness of S. F. Bemis' diplomatic history, although it does not match Bemis for scholarship and depth of treatment. Professor Bailey's book can well be used as a text. The style is excellent; it is very readable, interesting, and fairly thorough in the diplomatic relations considered. Students will enjoy reading and studying this book. The bibliographies at the end of each chapter will be helpful to those who wish to penetrate more deeply into particular periods and events of American diplomatic history.

W. HARRIS.

The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries, by W. B. Disnmoor. New York. Columbia University Press. pp. xvi + 274. \$4.50.

To the specialist in Hellenistic history and in Athenian epigraphy of the Hellenistic period this book should prove interesting as well as extremely useful. In it are assembled the results of all the most recent attempts to fix the chronology of the archon list for the second and third centuries.

R. L. P.

Historical Records and Studies, XXX. U. S. Catholic Historical Society. Thomas F. Meehan, editor. New York. pp. 169.

The very neatly bound, handsomely printed, and deliciously varied-in-content volumes of the New York Catholic Historical Society's publications, issued only annually, with the eighteen monographs, that are issued occasionally, show beyond peradventure that America's much maligned metropolitan city can still produce things good and admirable. Sister Mary Augustina Ray's demonstration that the silly Protestant tradition, which still flows vigorously in large sections of our land, is traceable to the pages of "The Protestant Tutor," London, 1679, is the *pièce de résistance* in the present volume. Every page of this ridiculous and infamous book is here reproduced in photographic copy. The most timely article in this volume is Joseph J. Early's account of "The Lake George St. Isaac Jogues Memorial." Dr. Leo Francis Stock's "The Irish Parliament and the American Revolution" excels in its perfect conformity to historical method. Father Frese's list of "Pioneer Catholic Weeklies" although a very imperfect compilation will be found most useful by research workers. Why did he not call for aid to Notre Dame, Kenrick Seminary or St. Louis University? The most Catholic pieces are Roger Baudier's "The First Sodality" and Charles Maxwell Lancaster's "First Fruits of Cuban Catholicism." The Notes and Comments belong to this group. The New York society has honored itself in choosing Mr. Thomas F. Meehan as its president.

L. J. KENNY.

Felix Grundy: Champion of Democracy, by Joseph Howard Parks. Louisiana State University Press. 1940. pp. viii + 368. \$3.00.

Simon Bolivar Buckner: Borderland Knight, by Arndt M. Stickles. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1940. pp. xi + 446. \$3.50.

Here were men: Felix Grundy and Simon Bolivar Buckner. Too often, we try to characterize periods of history by "great names," and thereby we lose much of the real story, color and typicalness of the times. For instance, we think of our national story from the pre-war days of 1812 to the eve of the Civil War as the period when Jackson, Clay, Calhoun, Webster and Haynes held "front and center" on the national political stage. But there was Felix Grundy. Grundy was a war hawk of the "War Hawks," the most colorful and successful of the frontier criminal lawyers, state legislator, national representative and senator, politician par excellence and attorney general. Through his life, in this well done biography, we catch glimpses of the dramatic advocate wringing tears and a verdict of acquittal from a backwoods, murder trial jury, no easy task; we see the dynamic senate orator cut down the opposition with a well-timed humorous sally, a still more difficult task; we watch the clever, not

cunning, politician explaining away certain governmental "spoils" under Jackson, a herculean task surely. The growth and trials of a borderland state, Tennessee, the first recognition of our national strength, the foreshadowing of the catastrophe of the secession and the war to come, form the background for this life of "indefatigable Felix." The reasons for New England tariffs, the Jacksonian attack on the Bank, the principal arguments for and against secession are here given a refreshing, if not new presentation. Through Grundy, and with him, we catch a little better the spirit of a very important and interesting phase of our national growth.

Simon Buckner is another of the South's greater sons to whom justice has at last come from a competent biographer. He, too, has been overshadowed. Lee, Jackson, Bragg and Beauregard were not the only Confederate generals. There was Simon Bolivar Buckner.

Professor Stickles has written a readable, interesting, fairly objective and scholarly history of this general and governor. He gives us the story of Buckner's resignation from the Union army to accept a high command in the Confederate army, the true version of the affair at Fort Donelson, the years of post-war suffering due to the loss of fortune and even of reputation, the retirement to private life, and the coming-forth again, at an advanced age, to become the executive of his native Kentucky.

General Buckner was indeed a "borderland knight." He was a man of principle, determination, culture and remarkable energy. He was equally at home in the councils of war; in the quiet of his "Glen Lily," and in the chambers of politics. He was esteemed by both foe and friend. Grant thought highly of him. His beloved South, and even the North, knew him as the most distinguished citizen of Kentucky.

These two volumes serve a fine purpose. Besides bringing to our notice men who might otherwise have been forgotten, they present, generally, examples of scholarly, yet not-too-heavy style, and an interesting arrangement and emphasis of matter. The "Critical Essay on Authorities" in the Grundy biography deserves special mention.

MARTIN HASTING.

A Concise History of Italy from Prehistoric Times to Our Own Day, by Luigi Salvatorelli. Translated by Bernard Miall. New York. Oxford University Press. pp. 668. \$5.00.

An obvious truth is stated on the dust jacket of this book, namely, that there is no good one-volume history of Italy in English. This has been a disadvantage felt by many students, for they have never been able to obtain a work which treats the historic evolution of the Italian state from its beginnings through the various stages of its development. They have had to be satisfied with general European history works or with monographs, neither of which permitted them to glimpse the great panorama of a nation and its history in the making.

However, there are many deficiencies. Signor Salvatorelli has the usual Italian viewpoint of papal history. For the papacy he has a disproportionate amount of abuse, and, of course, he is rather impatient with the pontiffs of the nineteenth century who seemed to him to be needlessly obstructing the unification of Italy. Again, from some of his remarks it is quite evident that the author is not a firm believer in all the Catholic Church holds and teaches. However, although such a work should not be put into the hands of a mere tyro, the reviewer sees no reason why it should not prove valuable to the more advanced scholar. Signor Salvatorelli is calm in his condemnation of the Church and never writes purely anti-Catholic polemics.

As might be expected, the attempt to cover so much in a short space has led to an over-packing of intricate details. All the footnote references have been lost, perhaps in the process of translation, which is unfortunate. The style is a little heavy; the price is a little high. Occasional errors of fact also appear, the author showing surprising ignorance of the constitutions of the Jesuits, for example.

R. L. PORTER.

A Pioneer Merchant of St. Louis, 1810-1820, by Sister Marietta Jennings, C. S. J. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. 219. \$2.50.

You say you are not interested in Christian Wilt, least of all in his business adventures, to which this book expressly limits itself! Well, open the book and see. If you still possess the cords of Adam in your make-up, you will find yourself drawn on from page to page until Duty or the dinner bell calls you away. For you have here a gripping human story recited to you with exquisite skill. Look at the table of contents: A Western

Mercantile Adventure; St. Louis and its Early Merchants; Merchandising on the Frontier, 1810-12; Progress in Lead Manufacture; War-Time Experiments; Problems in Transportation; Trade during the War Years; Post-War Readjustments; and at the end an ample Bibliography and a full Index. Old St. Louis has been happy in its historians, but as an interesting and accurate cicerone through the homes and the stores and along the *rues* of the old French *ville*, Sister Marietta is unsurpassed.

The study is properly limited to Wilt's business career; he had no other. When his pious parents named him Christian, they planted a good seed, but the thorns—the cares of business—choked the young plant. It never reached the sunlight. There is no evidence that Wilt ever raised his eyes to heaven. He was a pioneer of that invasion of St. Louis by citizens of earth, wealth diggers, men whose Christianity had decayed.

L. J. KENNY.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Note: Mention here does not preclude more detailed criticism at a later date.

The American Catholic Who's Who. Detroit. Walter Romig & Co. 1940. pp. viii + 496.

This 1940-1941 edition was published this spring. It is invaluable as a Catholic work of reference.

Britain and the Horrors of 1876, by David Harris. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. pp. viii + 438. \$3.00.

A scholarly study of an interesting chapter in Victorian statesmanship and foreign policy. The pro-Turkish policy of the British government in 1876 sought to gloss over the reports of Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria. The later awakening of the British people had severe repercussions for a time upon the government. An interesting chapter in the control of the newspapers in the interest of government foreign policy.

The New Deal in Action, 1933-1939, by Arthur M. Schlesinger. New York. Macmillan. 1940. pp. 84. \$0.50.

Primarily intended to bring the author's American history text up to date, this booklet also has value as an independent brief account of the New Deal. The story is carried up to September, 1939.

The Church and State in the Later Roman Empire, by Peter Charanis. Madison. University of Wisconsin Press. 1939. pp. 102. \$1.50.

A research essay on the religious policy of Anastasius the First, 491-518. The thesis is that the religious differences in the Empire were manifestations of particularist tendencies which were threatening both religious and political unity. Consequently, the religious policy of the emperors was of prime consideration in the attempts of the state to preserve unity.

Frederick Barbarossa's Conflict with the Papacy, by Paul J. Knapke, C. PP. S. Washington. Catholic University of America (dissertation). 1939. pp. xvi + 126.

A scholarly treatment of a chapter in the conflict of Church and State. An attempt is made to evaluate this conflict according to the cultural milieu and the political theory of the time. The author also tries to point out that the cause of this conflict was not the Church's ambition for universal dominion, but, as in all such conflicts, it was "the opposition between civil absolutism and the rights of the Church and conscience."

The Early Years of Isaac Thomas Hecker, 1819-1844, by Vincent F. Holden, C. S. P. Washington. Catholic University of America (dissertation). 1939. pp. x + 258.

A portrayal of an outstanding character in the history of the Catholic Church in America from his birth to his conversion.

Papal Enforcement of Some Medieval Marriage Laws, by Charles E. Smith, University (La.). Louisiana State University Press. 1940. pp. viii + 230. \$2.50.

A research essay in a very important phase of papal and European state history.